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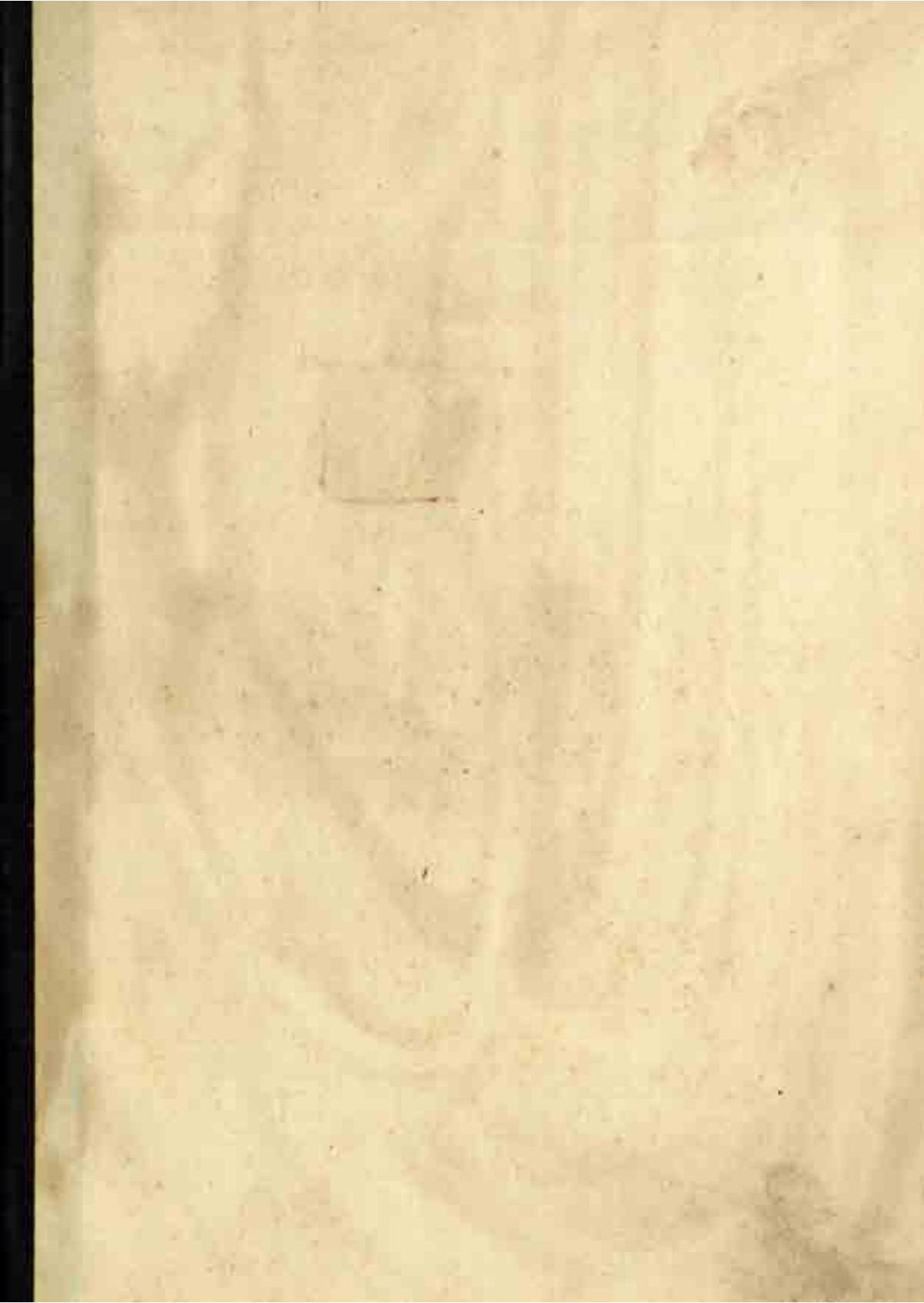
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XVIIth Century Map of Lopburi by a French Priest.

- T. Phaulkon's House and Garden outside City Wall.
- D. Site of ruins now known as Phaulkon's House, described as the residence of the French Ambassador.
- C. Buddhist Temples.
- H. P'ra Klang's House—a site recently excavated east of "D".
- G. Royal Garden—site now occupied by Co-operative Department buildings.
- K. Royal stables.
- A. Palace enclosure.
- S. Market, as at present.
- E. Persian Ambassador's House. Tak Khensan.
- P. Jesuit Astronomer's observation Tower. Ruins now known as San Polo.

# PHAULKON'S HOUSE AT LOPBURI

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON, M. A.

No study of Franco-Siamese relations during the xviii century is complete that ignores the imposing brick ruins at Lopburi in which a large part of the negotiations between the French Envoys and Phaulkon, P'ra Narai's Greek Adviser, took place.

The Palace has been described elsewhere. The ruins known as Phaulkon's house, which lie a short distance to the North of it, were carefully examined by the writer in 1932, and a ground plan was made of them, with the assistance of the Cadastral Survey, for purposes of comparison with the xviii century French plan already published.

As a preface to the consideration of these plans a few observations are offered concerning the career of Phaulkon.

A manuscript in the Archives of the Missions Etrangères at Rue du Bac in Paris purports to give the truth concerning Phaulkon's antecedents.

According to this manuscript, which is confirmed by Dutch and English records, Phaulkon left his home at Argostoli in the island of Cephalonia at an early age, and became a seaman in the service of the English East India Company<sup>(1)</sup>. In the year 1678, when he was about thirty years of age, he first came to Siam with the Company's Agent, Burnaby, when the latter was despatched from Bantam in Java to revive English trade in Siam.

Phaulkon was employed by Burnaby on this business for two years. In 1680, with Burnaby's approval, he was engaged by the P'ra K'lang, (Siamese Minister of the Treasury) who controlled the activities of foreign traders in the country. At about the same time Constantine Phaulkon, commonly known as Constant or "Conse" by the English, and "Constance" by the French, was converted to Catholicism by a Portuguese Jesuit, and married a half-caste Japanese woman.

In less than two years, Phaulkon had made himself indispensable to the Minister, P'ya Kosa, and received the title of Luang Wichayen. On the Minister's death in 1682, he became virtual controller of

(1) His family were *Gerakis*, which means "falcon" in Greek. Phaulkon is a hellenised version of this word used by him. The English styled him Faulcon.



Siam's foreign trade, and attracted the notice of King P'ra Narai, at the time when the latter was seeking an alliance with France to counterbalance Dutch pretensions in the Far East.

For six years, from 1682 to 1688, Phaulkon enjoyed the King's confidence; he exercised almost unlimited power, and was rewarded with the highest title of Chao P'ya. He was nevertheless a foreigner, and was unpopular.

The question arises—can he have been the owner of the palatial buildings at Lopburi, whose ruins still perpetuate his name; especially since no other remains of private as opposed to royal or sacred buildings of equal antiquity are to be found in Siam.

Before answering this question it will be necessary to examine the ruins in detail with the aid of the modern plan and of a copy of the old French plan.

Some 200 yards beyond the northern wall of the Palace, and in a direct line with the Palace Gate, known as Pratu Wichayen, lies a pile of brick ruins enclosed within walls which on the south and west sides are well preserved and are some 8 feet high.

The area so enclosed is a rhomboid, measuring roughly 90 metres on the north side, 100 metres on the south, 67 on the west, and 75 on the east. The orientation of the main building is S. S. W.

The ground plan shows a general lack of symmetry in the whole lay-out, suggestive of hasty or patchy design: for instance, several granite slabs are found among the bricks of the stairways.

The front (southern) wall is pierced by three Gates, the centre one of which is surmounted by a pointed Gable, but the two lateral gates each by a rounded arch.

The three gates correspond with the three main sections of the Ruins, which are separated into three Courts by the walls (K. L.)<sup>(1)</sup>. There are signs that these walls were originally uniform in height with the outer walls. They divide the ground between the outer south wall and the ruins into a central, an eastern and a western court.

#### CENTRAL SECTION.

The Central Court is traversed by a paved way running between low brick walls, intersecting a narrow lawn, and leading from the gabled entrance gate to the foot of an imposing flight of brick steps.

<sup>(1)</sup> The flanking walls of the Court contain well-preserved niches for lamps 15 inches apart and 4 feet from the ground.



Two photographs by P<sup>ra</sup> Prakas Sahakôu showing lotus  
decoration over chapel doors.





42 feet wide, which projects towards the path in an ellipse. At the top of the steps is another narrow grass plot, enclosed on the east and west side by the walls of buildings. In its centre is a rectangular Ruin (c), 12' x 18', consisting of two walls on north and south side, each about 15 feet high, which contain and overhang a saddle-shaped mass of bricks which rises in the centre and resembles the roof of a vault. The north wall shows traces of a window frame about 10 feet from the ground.

This ruin is commonly known as the Bell Tower, but there are no signs in the walls of holes for a Beam for suspending the Bells, which must have been hung, if at all, from the now vanished roof.

Behind stands the Chapel, approached by semi-circular steps up to the three main Doors in the North, South, and West walls. Above both North and South Doors is the remains of a low Tower, with traces of a winding stair in both towers.

The Chapel is a single apartment, narrow and massive, measuring about 50 feet x 18 feet. It is lit by three windows on the north wall and three on the south, each about  $3\frac{1}{2}' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'$  and by a square window above both north and south door, giving on to the towers.

The lighting on the East and West walls consists of a merlon-shaped opening in both gables near the top, and by a rose window in the centre of the West wall. The Eastern wall, below the gable, has no window.

The floor is still paved with about 50% of the original red hexagonal tiles. East of the Towers is a brick dais in which there are remains of marble. The dais spans the Nave to a depth of six feet, rising  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet above the floor level. At its East end are the Brick foundations of an Altar,  $5' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ . Between the Altar and the East wall of the Chapel is a passage six feet wide connecting a narrow door in the north wall with a similar one in the south wall.

The Masonry of the outer Mouldings of the windows and doors is decorated with Lotus design such as is commonly seen on the doorways of Siamese Temples. Prince Damrong considers this design to be a proof that the Chapel was not erected by Phaulkon for his private use, since it is unlikely that a foreigner in Siam would have been permitted to apply this form of ornament to his own Christian Chapel. In any case, it is probably the only Christian Church in the world decorated in Buddhist style.

Photographs presented by Pra Prakas Sahakôn illustrate the exterior decorations of the northern wall.

## WESTERN SECTION

In the western section of the ruins the path has been obliterated which once traversed the grassy Court, leading from the Western Arched Gateway to a flight of steps similar to those described in the central section, which give access to the Big House (a).

East of the path is a small Tank sunk in the grass; and beyond it, a long rectangular gabled building (b), which outflanks the main flight of brick steps, and which is joined by, but does not communicate with an outhouse at the back. Its doorways are approached by steep semi-circular steps.

The Big House (a) is composed of a lofty chamber 35 feet square, connected by two narrow doors in the north wall with a narrow northern chamber 35' x 12'. Above it, both north and south walls are pierced by four windows to light the upper floor now demolished. Above this first floor there are signs of a second storey.

This house is the biggest in the western quarter of the ruins. Behind it are various outhouses, the most remarkable of which is a block on the Eastern side (d) consisting of three small rooms, a small court, and a cistern. The most northerly room is a bricked-in vault: in the centre of the floor is a square sunken tank, flanked on either side by an oblong one. These three tanks are each supplied with earthenware pipes, and appear to be three baths. Next to the Bath Vault, on the South side is a small chamber, suggestive of a Latrine; and south of this another room,—possibly a dressing room. The enclosure between this room and the water cistern appears to have been a small courtyard.

The purpose served by outhouses (m. n. o.) is less obvious, but they were presumably kitchens, stables and servants quarters.

The narrow gabled building (c) parallel with the longer gabled building (b) connects on the north side with a room of fair size, behind which appears to have been a walled garden (p) leading to outhouses (d. m. n. o.).

## EASTERN SECTION

The eastern section is more symmetrically designed, more imposingly finished, and built with thicker walls than the Western section.

From the Arched Entrance Gate a brick path leads across the front Courtyard direct to a flight of five steps similar to those in the Central and Western Courts, but more spacious.

The Brick path is balanced on either side by rectangular plots, both of which contain a sunken Water Tank in the centre.



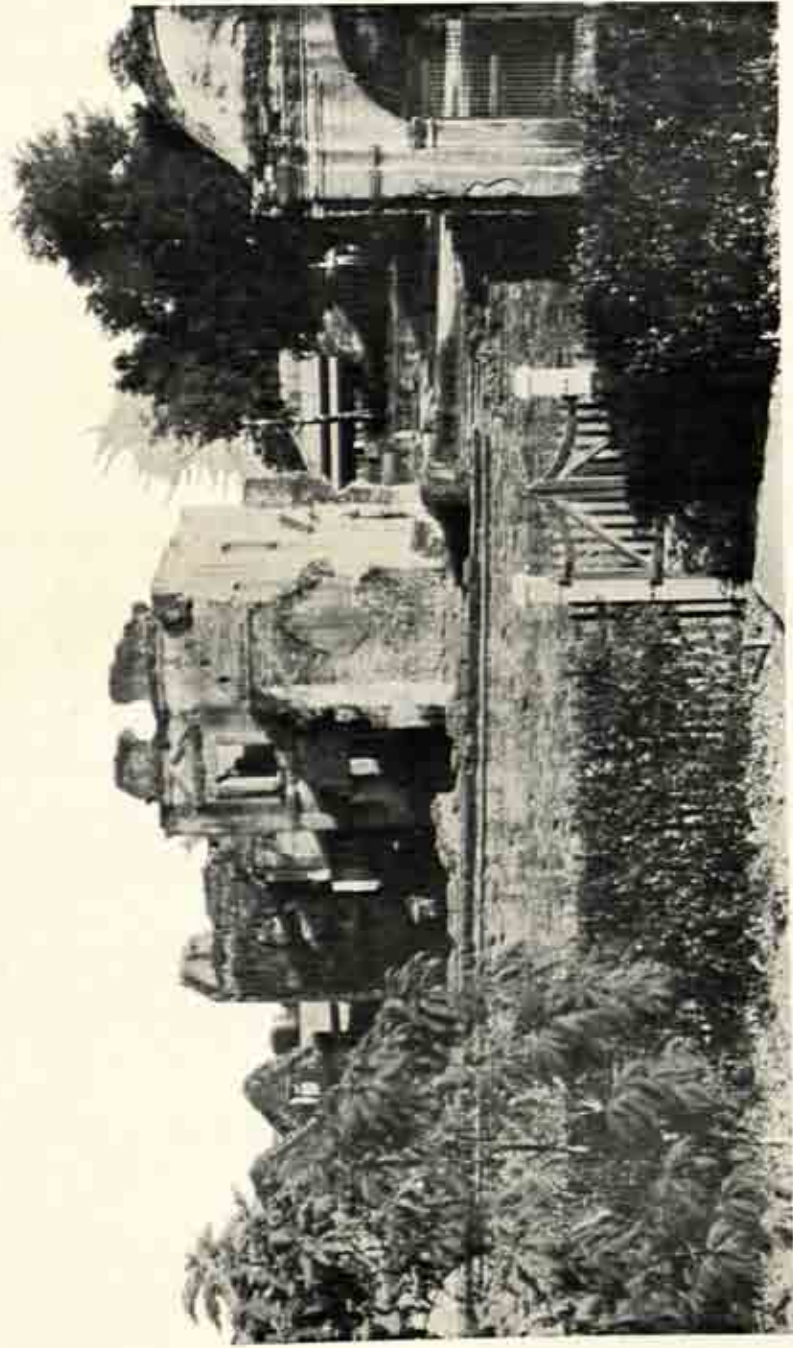
*View from Eastern court looking West.*

In foreground, steps leading to site of great Hall. (H. on plan). Beyond the steps, the living room R. W. on west side of Hall.

In background, the two narrow gabled buildings (b) (c) in western court.







*Central view as seen from house across the road.*

On extreme right: Entrance gate leading to site of great Hall (H.) in centre; living rooms R. W. with chapel behind.

On extreme left: Narrow gabled building (c) in western section.



Between both plots and the outer Southern Wall are corresponding, but smaller plots, which connect by a couple of steps at the end of walls (T. T.) with the small elevated Courts in front of the projecting buildings (f) and (g).

The platform above the grand stairway extends into a pavement of noble dimensions, roughly  $63' \times 33'$ , which probably formed the floor of a great Hall of Ceremony, now totally destroyed (H).

The walls (T. T.) are continuous with the walls no longer existing of the Hall of Ceremony; they formed the sides of two long narrow gable-roofed buildings, which have been destroyed like the Hall. These two buildings (f) and (g) together with the great stairway leading to the Hall enclosed three sides of the Entrance Court, and projected from the main alignment. Access to them was obtained by a small semicircular brick stairway from each of the two small elevated Courts on either side of the South end of the Entrance Court. Although the dimensions of (f) and (g) were approximately the same, their ground plan was far from identical, since (g) is filled up with the foundations of four small rooms, and a flanking passage; (f) however appears to have consisted of a single big room.

A narrow passageway outside the Eastern Wing leads through a gap in the wall (which doubtless contained a gate) to the adjoining building, called in the French Plan "House of the Pra Klang", the site of which has recently been cleared, revealing an immense platform now devoid of foundation walls, and numerous foundation walls of small buildings on the east and north sides.

The blocks RE, RW, each consist of a ground floor and a first floor room  $19' \times 33'$ . In both cases they are separated from the great Hall by a small walled Courtyard, which in the West Block (RW) contains an outside stairway leading to the first floor room.

The corresponding room in the East Block (RE) was reached by a spacious indoor staircase, the outline of which can be seen on the walls at the East end of (J).

(J) is a long, narrow Annex, parallel with and adjoining the northern wall of the Hall, and overlapping a portion of the north walls of (RE) and (RW). It may have served for offices behind the Hall, as well as covered way between (RE) and (RW) and the Central Court.

The ground behind (J) is honeycombed with the foundations of small buildings, presumably retainers' quarters.

A reference to the ground plan reveals the fact that the Chapel is in better alignment with the Eastern than with the Western section;



and an examination of the ruins shows that the Chapel and Eastern Section are more solidly built than the rest of the ruins.

These observations suggest the conclusion that the Chapel and Eastern Section represent the original Buildings constructed by P'ra Narai's orders for the reception of Ambassador de Chaumont and his staff. The French map of Lophuri, made at that time, supports this theory, which is furthermore reinforced by Prince Damrong's comments on the ornamentation of the Chapel windows.

In the French map, the site of the ruins is described as "The residence of the French Ambassador" (D), and the western boundary wall is shown close to the west end of the Chapel. The ground beyond that boundary is shown as a Buddhist Temple, which must have been acquired in order to construct the western part of the present ruins, since the latter extend almost to the City wall. Phaulkon's house (T) is shown outside the City wall.

It is possible that after the departure of de Chaumont's Embassy, Phaulkon built the Western Section for himself and for the twelve Jesuits who came out in 1687 as well as for the six left behind by de Chaumont. The two parallel narrow gabled buildings (b) and (c) are more suggestive of friars' cells than of lay habitations.

As mentioned above, the building on the East side of the Ruins is marked as the "P'ra Klang's" House.

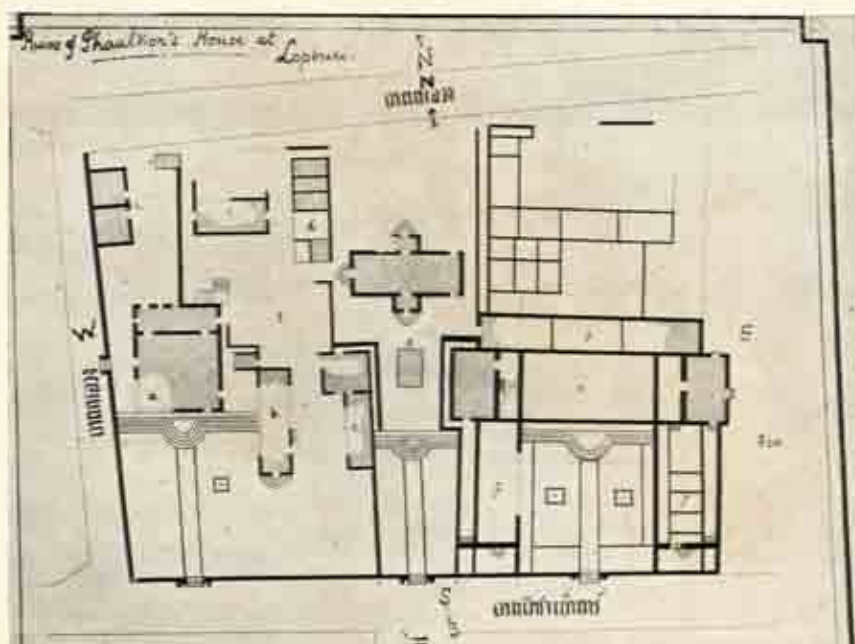
The Royal Gardens (G) occupied the present site of the Co-operative Department Buildings—separated from the Palace (A) by a line of Royal Stables (K).

Nothing now remains of the French Mission (F), or of the populous quarter on the island (Q) opposite to the Market (S) which is still in that part of the town.

Phaulkon's house and garden (T) lie beyond the N.-E. end of the Moat, parallel with the Jesuit Astronomers' Observation Tower (P), a ruin now known as San Polo. This quarter is now very sparsely populated and contains no vestiges of Phaulkon's garden.

Its place however on the French map far away from the ruins now known as Phaulkon's house may be taken as evidence that at the time when the map was made Phaulkon resided far away from the Palace; also that the eastern and central portion of the site now known as Phaulkon's house contained apartments which were built for the reception of the French Ambassador.

It is incredible that a foreigner in the Siamese service could have been permitted to build so magnificent a palace for himself, while the



Plan of Phaulkon's House at Lopburi made by a Cadastral Surveyor,  
June 1932.

*Central Court*

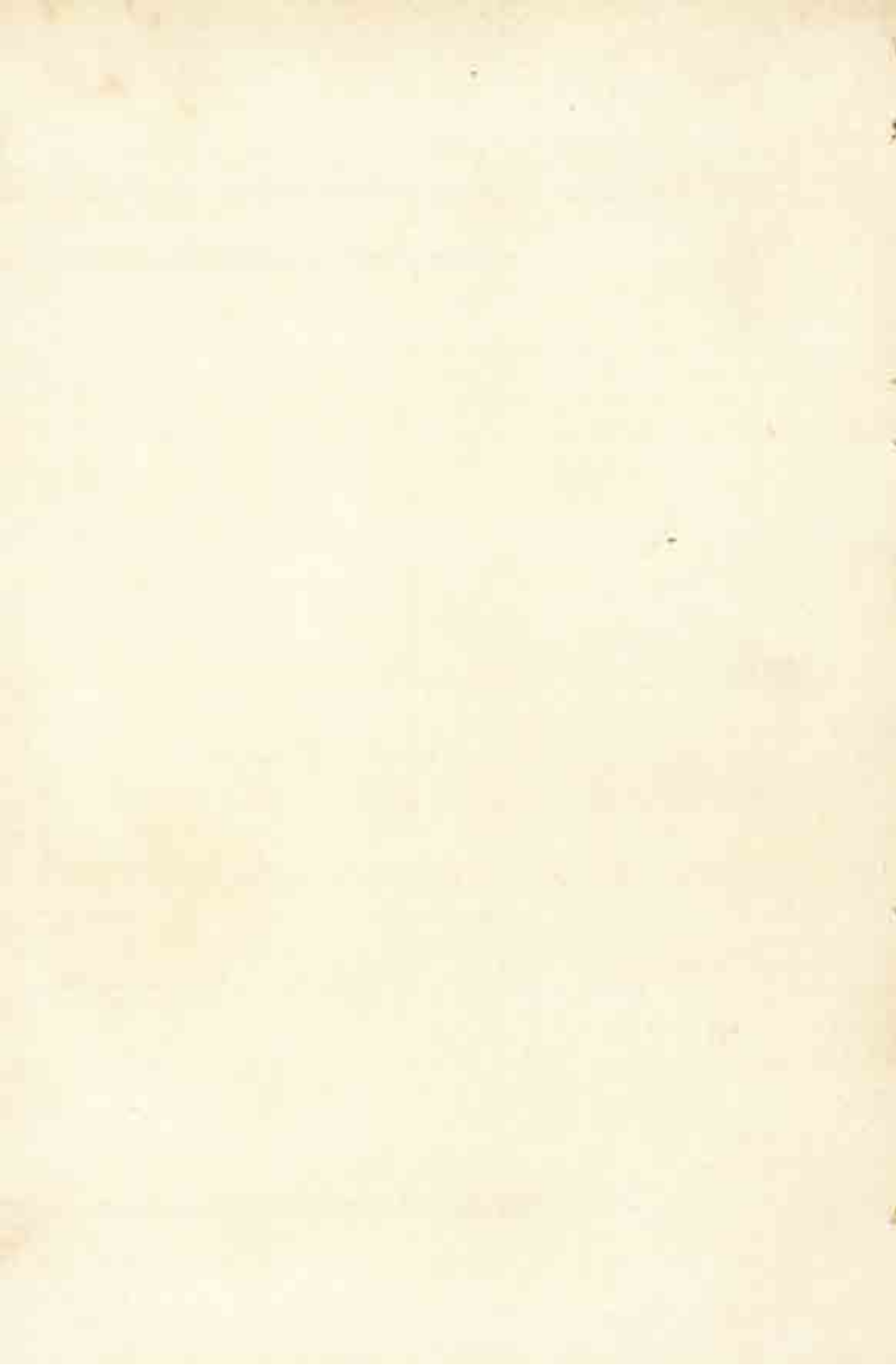
- e. So-called Bell Tower with Chapel behind
- K. L. Planking walls, dividing this court from the Eastern and Western Sections.

*Western Section*

- a. The Big House, of flimsy construction
- b. c. Narrow rectangular gabled buildings, suggestive of Friars' cells.
- d. Bath-Latrine (?), Dressing room (?), Courtyard (d) cistern.
- p. Walled garden.
- m. n. o. Outhouses: probably kitchen and stables.

*Eastern Section*

- T. T. Ruined walls of narrow gable-roofed building F. G. on either side of garden plots.
- F. G. Narrow gable-roofed buildings flanking the garden plots.
- H. Great Hall of ceremony.
- RW. } Small walled courtyards dividing great Hall at west and east
- RE. } ends from ground floor and first floor living rooms, 19' x 33'.
- J. Long narrow annex behind Hall, divided into three apartments.



Siamese grandees were content with less permanent houses. When however de Chaumont and his suite had departed, leaving behind five out of the six Jesuit Astronomers who came out with him, some of these Jesuits may have remained behind to serve the chapel.

It is possible that then Phaulkon may have acquired the Temple land at the West end and built some of the more fragile edifices in the Western Court for his own use, in order to be nearer to the Palace than in his original house outside the Moat.

Chiangmai, 1933.





## LE CULTE DU BOUDDHA D'Émeraude

par

R. LINGAT

Il existe, comme on sait, différentes versions de la légende du Bouddha d'émeraude rédigées soit en pâli soit en langue indigène.

On connaît deux versions pâlies, le *Ratanabimbavamsa* et l'*Amarakatabuddharūpanidāna*, auxquelles il faut ajouter un chapitre de la *Jinakālamālinī* consacré à l'histoire de la fameuse statue.

Le texte du *Ratanabimbavamsa*, accompagné d'une traduction siamoise, a été publié en 1913 par les soins de la Bibliothèque Vajirañāṇa<sup>(1)</sup>. Son auteur, le bhikkhu Brahmārājapañña, vivait, d'après le colophon, à Sirijauālaya, soit Crī Sāterānalāi, la capitale jumelle de Sākhōtāi. Une mention portée à la fin de la troisième partie indique que l'ouvrage a été terminé le jeudi, 10<sup>e</sup> jour de la lune croissante du 5<sup>e</sup> mois de l'année du Coq, sans indication de millésime. Comme le récit s'arrête au moment de l'installation de la statue à Lāmpang, l'ouvrage ne saurait être antérieur à la seconde moitié du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle.

L'*Amarakata* est l'œuvre d'Ariyavamsa, qui a aussi écrit en pâli l'histoire d'une autre statue, non moins célèbre que le Bouddha d'émeraude, le Prañ Bang. Cet ouvrage est encore inédit dans sa langue originale, mais il en existe une traduction siamoise qui a été insérée par le roi Chulalongkorn dans son livre *Rājakaranyānuvara* consacré à la cérémonie de la prestation du serment et publié en 1920 par les soins de la Bibliothèque Vajirañāṇa<sup>(2)</sup>. D'autre part, l'ouvrage pâli dont M. C. Notton vient de donner une traduction sous le titre *The Chronicle of the Emerald Buddha*, n'est autre que l'*Amarakata*<sup>(3)</sup>. Toutefois, il convient d'observer que la traduction de M. C. Notton, faite sur le *nissaya* yuen, contient de-ci de-là des données étrangères au texte pâli, tout comme la traduction siamoise du reste, de telle sorte que, pour une étude approfondie de la légende, ces deux traductions ne dispensent pas de recourir à l'original. Le récit d'Ariyavam-

(1) หนังสือ วัดนคินพวง. Bangkok, 131 B. K.

(2) พระราชบัณฑิตยสถาน พระราชบัณฑิตในรัชกาลที่ ๕ ตอนว่าด้วย พระพุทธนิเวศน์เจ้าปางนาค, Bangkok, 2463. La traduction occupe les pages 81 à 105.

(3) On trouvera un compte rendu de cette traduction dans le Vol. XXXIII du Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.

sa relate les aventures de la statue jusqu'à la mort de Jaya Jettha, roi de Vientiane, en 1571. Il est probable qu'il a été composé à Vientiane dans les premières années qui ont suivi la mort de ce roi.

La *Jinakālamālinī* a été écrite dans le premier quart du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle par un bhikkhu de O'eng Māi, Ratanapañña. Le chapitre relatif au Bouddha d'émeraude se trouve dans la partie que M. G. Coedès a éditée et traduite dans ses *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental*<sup>(1)</sup>.

Ainsi que M. G. Coedès l'a remarqué, ces trois versions pâlies de l'histoire du Bouddha d'émeraude coïncident, sans qu'on puisse dire que leurs auteurs se soient copiés les uns les autres: "Ils ont plutôt puisé à une source commune, rédigée probablement en langue indigène"<sup>(2)</sup>. Si la *Jinakālamālinī* et le *Ratanabimbavamsa* peuvent être regardés comme des œuvres contemporaines, il n'en est plus de même pour l'*Amarakapa* qui est postérieur d'au moins un demi-siècle à la *Jinakālamālinī*. Etant donné cette différence entre les dates des trois rédactions et la diversité des lieux où ces ouvrages ont été composés, il est permis de douter qu'une source littéraire unique soit bien à la base des trois récits, et la concordance des trois versions doit être plutôt attribuée à l'homogénéité des traditions touchant les avatars du Bouddha d'émeraude. Mais il ne paraît guère douteux, en revanche, que les auteurs des versions pâlies aient travaillé sur des matériaux indigènes. Cela est certain pour l'auteur du *Ratanabimbavamsa* qui le déclare expressément au début de son ouvrage. Pour l'*Amarakapa*, il semble même qu'on soit en possession de l'une des sources indigènes mises à contribution par l'auteur. Une bonne partie de cet ouvrage, en effet, n'est guère que la traduction d'une chronique laotienne dont il va être question bientôt. Le fait que les versions pâlies ont leur source dans des récits en langue du pays est intéressant à retenir, car il conduit à penser que, sous le pieux habillement du pâli, c'est avant tout à de vieilles traditions locales que l'on a affaire.

Pour la même raison, les versions indigènes sont, au même titre que les versions pâlies, indispensables à connaître pour l'étude de la légende. Elles méritent même, à certains égards, une attention plus grande encore, car elles peuvent nous avoir conservé des traditions que

(1) BEFEO, XXV, 1-2, p. 54-56 et 112-115.

(2) Note sur les ouvrages pâlies composés en pays thaï, BEFEO, Vol. XV, 3, p. 8.

les auteurs pâlis, soucieux uniquement d'édifier leurs lecteurs, avaient intérêt à dissimuler. Malheureusement, ces recensions indigènes, à une seule exception près, n'existent qu'en manuscrits, et ne sont connues que fort imparfaitement. On doit donc féliciter M. C. Notton d'avoir donné, en appendice à sa traduction de l'*Amarakaṭa*, d'assez copieux extraits des manuscrits qu'il possède. Ce n'est certes pas la partie la moins estimable de son travail. On regrettera, toutefois, qu'il n'ait cru devoir fournir de ces sources manuscrites qu'un signalement des plus rudimentaires<sup>(1)</sup>. L'auteur du *Pāṅṣāwādan Fonók*, d'autre part, a utilisé un certain nombre de versions laotiennes, non autrement identifiées, dont il a résumé les faits essentiels<sup>(2)</sup>.

La plus répandue au Siam de ces versions en langue du pays est celle qui a été éditée, dès 1869, à la suite des *Annales du Nord* sous le titre *Histoire du Bouddha d'émeraude de Luang Prabang* et reproduite en 1912 dans le premier volume des *Prācūm Pāṅṣāwādan*<sup>(3)</sup>. Comme le titre l'indique, cette compilation a été faite sur des documents provenant de Luang Prabang. Elle conduit le récit jusqu'à l'installation de la statue à Vientiane et se termine à la mort de Jaya Jetṭha, comme l'*Amarakaṭa* dont elle paraît avoir été l'une des sources.

Il convient de mentionner enfin le *Pu'n Pra Kēo* conservé à la Bibliothèque royale de Luang Prabang. A en juger d'après l'analyse sommaire qu'en a donnée M. L. Finot<sup>(4)</sup>, ce récit paraît correspondre dans ses lignes essentielles à l'*Histoire* dont il vient d'être parlé, mais il s'arrête à l'arrivée de la statue à Luang Prabang, un quart de siècle plus tôt.

(1) Et parfois trompeur. Ainsi, la source qu'il désigne par les mots "Siamese MS" n'est autre que le récit bien connu et plusieurs fois imprimé qui va être mentionné.

(2) *เมืองหลวงพระบาง* โยนก, p. 246-248.

(3) *ประชุมพงษาวดาร ภาคที่ ๘*, p. 79-112. Mais les éditeurs ont cru bien faire en retranchant du titre les mots qui indiquaient la provenance laotienne de l'original. Une réédition du volume publié en 1869 avait paru en 113 R. K. (1894) sous le titre *พระพุทธเจ้าองค์น้อย แลตำนานพระแก้วมรกตเมืองหลวงพระบาง*.

(4) *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*, BEFEO, XVII, 5, p. 151.



Cette documentation, malgré les lacunes qui ont été signalées, est cependant assez abondante et variée pour qu'on soit fondé à entreprendre une étude d'ensemble de la légende et à aborder le problème de sa formation.

L'histoire du Bouddha d'émeraude peut être divisée en trois périodes : 1°. Une période légendaire ou pseudo-historique qui va de sa fabrication à son installation à Cieng Rai; 2°. Une période laotienne qui va jusqu'à la fin de son séjour à Vientiane; 3°. Une période siamoise qui va de la prise de Vientiane par les Siamois jusqu'à nos jours<sup>(1)</sup>.

Toutes les versions attribuent à Nāgasena, l'interlocuteur du roi Milinda, l'idée de faire une statue du Bouddha avec une pierre précieuse douée de pouvoirs surnaturels. Cette pierre lui est fournie par Indra lui-même qui va en personne au Vipulapabbata la demander aux Kumbhāndas, et elle est taillée par Vissukamma, le Vulcain indou. L'événement est placé 500 ans après la mort du Bouddha<sup>(2)</sup>. La statue est d'abord installée dans le monastère de Nāgasena, l'Asokārama, situé près de Pupphavatī (Bénarès) d'après J, ou dans la ville de Pāṭaliputta selon les autres versions. Trois cents ans après, sous le règne d'un roi appelé Siridhammakitti, elle fut transportée à Ceylan où elle demeura 400 ans d'après J, ou 200 ans d'après les autres versions. A cette date, elle fut généreusement donnée par le roi de Ceylan à Anuruddha, roi de Pagan, qui avait envoyé à Ceylan une mission religieuse chargée de rapporter une copie fidèle des Ecritures pour le clergé de son royaume. Mais le vaisseau qui la transportait à Pagan avec une partie des Ecritures fut emmené à Angkor Thom<sup>(3)</sup>. Le roi Anuruddha, quand il eut connaissance du fait, s'empressa de se rendre à Angkor Thom. Il obtint la restitution des Ecritures, mais il oublia de réclamer le Bouddha d'émeraude, oubli assurément stupéfiant, mais sur lequel il y a accord complet entre toutes nos versions. La statue resta dans la capitale khmère jusqu'au jour où

(1) Les diverses versions seront désignées de la manière suivante: R: *Ratanabimbavamsa*, A: *Amarakata*, J: *Jinakalamālīnī*, LP: *Histoire du Bouddha d'émeraude de Luang Prabang*, PY: *P'ongsaeddan Yonh*.

(2) Sauf PY qui le place 700 ans après le Nirvāna.

(3) Appelée, selon les versions, Mahānagara (J), Indapatha (A et LP) et Nijapara ou -nagara (R).

une grande inondation, châtement d'une injustice du roi <sup>(1)</sup>, détruisit la ville. Des habitants transportèrent la statue dans un autre pays <sup>(2)</sup>. Dans la suite, un roi d'Āyūth'ya, appelé Ādittarāja ou Ādityarāja, s'empara d'Angkor Thom et ramena la statue dans sa capitale, où elle resta de nombreuses années. Puis, la statue tomba dans la possession du roi de Kāmp'ēng Pēt. Durant le séjour de la statue dans cette ville, certaines versions (LP et PY) introduisent un épisode qui la fait aller, pour un an et neuf mois, à Lāvo où régnait, nous dit-on, un fils du roi de Kāmp'ēng Pēt. De Kāmp'ēng Pēt, la statue passa à C'ien'g Rai.

Les érudits siamois, à commencer par le roi Mongkut, font bon marché de cette première partie de l'histoire du Bouddha d'émeraude. Il est aisé de voir à l'aspect de la statue que la matière dont elle est faite n'est pas de l'émeraude. Le roi Mongkut croyait y reconnaître une variété de jade, et il en concluait que la pierre avait été apportée de Chine. D'autre part, il estimait que la statue appartient par sa facture à une ancienne école laotienne, nommément celle de C'ien'g Sèn. Il suppose donc que la pierre fut acquise par un puissant prince laotien qui, par dévotion, la consacra au Bouddha <sup>(3)</sup>. Cette hypothèse est couramment, on peut même dire officiellement, admise aujourd'hui au Siam. La critique moderne ne peut que constater l'exactitude de l'observation du roi Mongkut en ce qui concerne le style de la statue. Cette dernière a bien les caractéristiques assignées à l'école de C'ien'g Sèn, mais certains traits, comme la position des jambes, la longueur de l'écharpe, ne permettent de lui attribuer

(1) A et PY appellent ce roi Sena, LP Senaka.

(2) Au Nord, disent A et LP, à plus de trois mois au Nord, précise PY. Cependant, toutes les versions s'accordent à dire que la statue fut enlevée de la ville même d'Angkor Thom par le roi d'Āyūth'ya. LP semble avoir senti la difficulté; il explique que le roi d'Āyūth'ya, aussitôt après son entrée dans Angkor, fit rechercher la statue et, après l'avoir retrouvée, l'emporta dans sa capitale.

(3) Cette critique destructrice de la légende se trouve exposée, assez curieusement semble-t-il, dans une Proclamation qui était lue solennellement chaque année dans la Chapelle du Bouddha d'émeraude à l'occasion de la cérémonie de la prestation du serment. Ce texte a été imprimé plusieurs fois, notamment à la suite de la traduction du *Ratanabimbavamsa* mentionnée plus haut et dans le recueil des Décrets relatifs aux cérémonies royales (ประกาศกษัตริย์), Bangkok, 2459 (1916), I, p. 1-20.



qu'une ancienneté fort relative, soit au plus tôt la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>(1)</sup>. Quant à la substance dans laquelle elle est taillée, il serait bien imprudent de se prononcer, étant donné l'impossibilité où l'on est d'examiner la statue de près. Le même roi Mongkut, dans une note qu'il a communiquée à Sir John Bowring et que celui-ci a reproduite dans son livre<sup>(2)</sup>, déclare que la statue est en jaspé. Il est peu vraisemblable que le roi Mongkut ait confondu le jade et le jaspé. En présence de cette hésitation de la part d'un observateur aussi privilégié, il est permis d'avancer une hypothèse qui aurait peut-être satisfait le roi Mongkut lui-même, car elle ne contredit en rien ses conclusions, bien au contraire<sup>(3)</sup>. On trouve à Nân, en plein pays laotien, une prase qui offre la même apparence que la pierre dans laquelle le Bouddha d'émeraude est taillé<sup>(4)</sup>. Il est donc possible que cette magnifique gemme ait été découverte dans la région même où on devait la travailler.

Si les séjours de la statue dans l'Inde et à Ceylan sont purement légendaires, il n'empêche que certains traits du récit ne soient intéressants à relever à divers points de vue, et notamment par ce qu'ils révèlent des tendances des milieux où se forma, autour des données originaires, la légende qui nous a été transmise. Ainsi, le souvenir, conservé dans toutes les versions, de la réforme religieuse opérée au Pégou par le roi Anuruddha, l'épisode de la mission envoyée par ce roi à Ceylan, si complaisamment développé dans A, dénotent un désir significatif d'exalter la tradition cinghalaise, considérée comme l'expression la plus pure du bouddhisme, et de marquer

(1) On a reproduit en frontispice une photographie montrant la statue dépouillée de ses ornements. C'est ainsi qu'il convient de la considérer pour juger du style auquel elle appartient, puisque les ornements dont elle est aujourd'hui parée sont de date récente.

(2) *The kingdom and people of Siam*, I, p. 316.

(3) Cette hypothèse n'a été suggérée par notre Président, le P'aya Indra-montri (F. H. Giles).

(4) Cette pierre se trouve, pour préciser, à quelque quatre-vingts kilomètres au N.-E. de Nân. Les habitants de la région en font des bagues. Il y a une quinzaine d'années, un Birman sollicita du gouvernement siamois l'autorisation de prospecter le site, mais il ne donna pas suite à son projet. M. Schweisguth a rapporté d'un voyage récent à Nân un spécimen de la pierre. C'est une variété de quartz d'un vert sensiblement plus clair que le Bouddha d'émeraude. J'ignore s'il en existe des variétés plus foncées. Le Laboratoire municipal de Bangkok, qui a bien voulu en faire l'analyse sur ma demande, n'a pas pu préciser à quel métal était due la coloration verte.

en même temps l'orthodoxie de l'Eglise pégouane. Or, on sait que, dans la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, c'est par le Pégou que l'influence cinghalaise se faisait sentir au Laos et dans les royaumes t'ai. C'est à ce moment là précisément que le thera Sumana, ordonné au Pégou par un moine venu de Ceylan, entreprit de prêcher la pure doctrine au Laos : mission qui devait faire époque dans l'histoire religieuse de ce pays<sup>(1)</sup>. On ne peut manquer d'observer que notre légende contient l'écho du grand mouvement de réforme qui devait triompher complètement au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. On doit aussi remarquer le synchronisme entre le début de ce mouvement et la date probable du Bouddha d'émeraude.

D'un autre côté, on ne peut rejeter *a priori* dans le domaine de la légende les données de nos chroniques qui ont pour théâtre le sol indo-chinois. On doit constater d'abord que nos chroniques sont toutes d'accord pour faire passer la statue successivement par Angkor, Āyūthya et Kāmpēng Pēt avant de la faire aller à Chieng Rai. Il serait intéressant de pouvoir déterminer l'époque à laquelle nos chroniqueurs situaient ces déplacements, mais il faut avouer que cela n'est pas aisé, car aucun d'eux ne brille par la précision. Toutefois, une tradition très forte, puisqu'elle est représentée par toutes nos chroniques, a conservé le nom du roi d'Āyūthya, Ādittarāja ou Ādityarāja, qui enleva la statue d'Angkor Thom. Mais qui était cet Ādittarāja ? M. G. Cordès pense qu'il pourrait bien s'agir d'un des premiers souverains qui ont régné à Āyūthya. Si l'on rapproche nos récits d'autres récits analogues dont il sera parlé plus bas, tels que le *Sihingavūḍāna* qui décrit les aventures du Praḥ Sihing, statue du Bouddha dont la destinée se confondit souvent avec celle du Bouddha d'émeraude, on est, en effet, conduit à voir dans l'Āyūthya de notre légende l'ancienne capitale du Siam. L'arrivée du Bouddha d'émeraude sur le territoire siamois serait alors à placer dans la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Toutefois, le nom d'Ādittarāja ne figure pas dans les Annales siamoises, non plus du reste que dans le *Sihingavūḍāna*, de telle sorte que l'identification reste douteuse. De son côté, l'auteur de PY voit dans notre Āyūthya la capitale d'un royaume situé dans la partie septentrionale du Siam, sans nous dire où il a pris cette donnée nouvelle. M. C. Notton, à son tour, propose d'identifier notre Ādittarāja avec Ditta, souverain du royaume mon

(1) G. Cordès, *Documents*, . . . , p. 31-32.



de Haripuñjaya, qui fut en effet en guerre avec les Cambodgiens et qui eut pour successeur Ādittarāja avec qui il a été quelquefois confondu<sup>(1)</sup>. L'Āyūth'ya de notre légende serait alors Lāmp'un, et l'époque que nos chroniqueurs avaient en vue le milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il faudrait alors attendre deux siècles avant d'arriver à l'étape suivante, deux siècles sans histoire pour le Bouddha d'émeraude, malgré les événements qui traversèrent l'existence du royaume de Haripuñjaya. Une chronique de C'heng Māi citée par M. C. Notton (p. 39) nous apprend, en effet, que la statue fut transportée d'Āyūth'ya à Kāmp'èng P'êt par un roi appelé Rāmarāja, qui eut pour successeur Pāya Rāma Sām Pāya. Si Rāmarāja n'a pas laissé de trace dans l'histoire, du moins comme roi de Kāmp'èng P'êt, celui qui nous est donné pour son successeur, Pāya Sām Pāya, est un personnage bien connu, en raison notamment de ses rapports avec le roi de C'heng Rai, Mahābrahmā. J qui l'appelle Tipaññamacca,—nom qui n'est que la traduction paliée de Pāya Sām Pāya,—le fait vivre dans la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. La statue ayant été apportée à Kāmp'èng P'êt par son prédécesseur, l'événement ne peut donc guère être placé que vers le milieu du même siècle. Si l'identification proposée par M. C. Notton est à retenir, il faudrait donc constater un sérieux hiatus dans les traditions concernant les premières tribulations du Bouddha d'émeraude sur le territoire siamois. Cela n'est certes pas une raison suffisante pour écarter cette identification, mais cela tendrait bien à faire rejeter dans un passé quasi légendaire et complètement inaccessible, les événements qui se sont déroulés avant le milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Si, d'autre part, on revient à l'identification qui paraît la plus naturelle, c'est-à-dire si l'on voit dans Ādittarāja l'un des premiers souverains siamois, il faut admettre qu'une fois enlevée aux Cambodgiens, la statue a connu une existence extrêmement mouvementée, puisque, dans un intervalle de temps qui ne saurait excéder vingt ans, elle aurait passé successivement entre les mains des rois d'Āyūth'ya, de Kāmp'èng P'êt et de C'heng Rai sans parler d'un séjour possible à Lāvo. Cela non plus du reste n'aurait rien d'in vraisemblable si l'on se rappelle qu'après la réduction du Cambodge, la lutte contre Kāmp'èng P'êt et les royaumes laotiens du Nord constitue le fait le plus saillant des premières pages des Annales

(1) En réalité, Dittarāja et Ādittarāja sont généralement présentés comme un seul et unique personnage; il n'y a que la *Jinakālamālīni* qui en fasse deux rois successifs (V. G. Cordès, *Documents*, . . . , p. 25).

siamoises. Les premiers déplacements de la statue sur le territoire siamois présenteraient alors en raccourci une image assez exacte des rivalités politiques en présence dans la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, c'est-à-dire à l'époque immédiatement antérieure à celle à laquelle la statue paraît appartenir par sa facture.

Après l'installation de la statue à C'iang Rai, nous marchons sur un terrain plus sûr, ou plutôt beaucoup mieux connu. Toutes les chroniques, en effet, attribuent à Mahābrahmā<sup>(1)</sup>, personnage historique, la gloire d'avoir introduit le Bouddha d'émeraude au Laos. On peut avec confiance accepter pour cet événement la date de 1370 fournie par J.

Mais pour l'étape suivante, on se trouve en présence de deux traditions divergentes. L'une, représentée par A et LP, fait aller la statue directement de C'iang Rai à C'iang Māi, l'autre, représentée par R et J, lui fait faire un long séjour à Lāmpang avant d'être installée à C'iang Māi<sup>(2)</sup>. La première tradition, il faut l'avouer, manque de certitude et d'homogénéité. D'après LP, la statue aurait été enlevée de C'iang Rai par un roi de C'iang Māi qui n'est pas nommé, mais dont on nous dit qu'il était l'oncle du roi de C'iang Rai. L'événement semble être placé en l'an 2000 du Nirvāna, soit 1457 A. D., mais ce passage est rédigé si maladroitement qu'on ne peut pas affirmer que le chroniqueur ait bien entendu rapporter la date à l'arrivée de la statue à C'iang Māi. A, dans le texte original, est encore plus imprécis. Il ne fournit aucune indication sur le roi de C'iang Māi qui a emporté la statue. Mais il paraît placer l'événement du vivant même de Mahābrahmā, roi de C'iang Rai. Le traducteur yuen suivi par M. C. Notton et le traducteur siamois de la version du roi Chulalongkorn n'hésitent pas à compléter le texte pâli en identifiant le roi de C'iang Māi avec Ku'na qui était bien le contemporain de Mahābrahmā, son suzerain. Il est probable que A a eu plutôt en vue Sèn Mu'ong Ma, le fils et successeur de Ku'na, qui, en effet, s'empara de C'iang Rai à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle ou au début du siècle suivant. Mais l'auteur de A a tenu quand même à faire figurer dans son récit la date 2000 du Nirvāna, sans y rattacher aucun événement, il est vrai. On se demande alors ce que cette date vient faire ici. D'autre part, Sèn Mu'ong Ma était le neveu, et non pas l'oncle, de Mahābrahmā, ce qui renverse le rapport de parenté mentionné par LP. On ne peut

(1) Sauf R qui appelle ce roi Dhammarāja.

(2) L'auteur de PY connaît les deux traditions et les rapporte l'une et l'autre.



attribuer ce renversement de parenté à une inadvertance du chroniqueur, car une version rapportée par PY déclare de nouveau que le roi de Čieng Māi qui s'empara de la statue et qui est ici appelé Buddhavamsa, était l'oncle du roi de Čieng Rai. Il ne saurait donc s'agir d'un épisode de la prise de Čieng Rai par Sên Mu'ong Ma. On entrevoit du reste comment la confusion a pu naître : Sên Mu'ong Ma enleva de Čieng Rai le Prah Sihing, dont la légende, comme on l'a remarqué, coïncide en partie avec celle du Bouddha d'émeraude. En faisant passer cette dernière statue à Čieng Māi du vivant de Mahābrahmā, il est possible que l'auteur de A ait confondu les deux légendes. Mais alors il a éprouvé de grandes difficultés à descendre jusqu'à la date 2000 qui lui était imposée par ses sources, et il s'en est tiré par l'artifice que nous avons indiqué. Il semble donc qu'on soit ici en présence d'une lacune dans les connaissances de nos chroniqueurs, lacune correspondant au séjour de la statue à Lāmpang, et qu'ils ont cherché maladroitement à dissimuler. Toutefois, la tradition qui omet de faire passer la statue à Lāmpang, même si elle n'a pas trouvé de chroniqueur assez habile pour lui donner une chronologie consistante, ne doit pas être écartée sans autre examen. Cette tradition, en effet, est représentée par des versions indépendantes, A et LP d'une part, et PY de l'autre<sup>(1)</sup>. Il ne peut donc pas s'agir seulement de l'ignorance de certains chroniqueurs, mais d'une véritable tradition courante dans certains milieux, et la constatation de l'embarras où se sont trouvés nos chroniqueurs à combler la lacune entre le séjour de la statue à Čieng Rai et son transport à Čieng Māi fait pressentir qu'il s'est produit dans cet intervalle de temps un événement qui a jeté quelque obscurité sur son existence pendant de longues années.

La seconde tradition est représentée, comme on l'a dit plus haut, par les récits de R et de J qui concordent parfaitement et qui offrent en outre une chronologie agréablement cohérente. Selon ces chroniqueurs, Mahābrahmā, pour soustraire la statue aux convoitises des ennemis, la fit couvrir d'un mortier de chaux et de sable délayé dans du sucre de palme et du miel, et revêtir ensuite d'une couche d'or. Ainsi rendue méconnaissable, on la plaça, avec d'autres statues, dans un ōdi du Wāt Nārakkhavanārāma, à l'Est de Čieng Rai. C'est pourquoi, dit J, elle échappa à Sên Mu'ong Ma après qu'il eut vaincu

(1) Sans parler aussi du Pu'n Pra K'eo signalé plus haut, mais LP n'en est peut-être qu'une traduction.

son oncle<sup>(1)</sup>. Peu à peu, le souvenir du Bouddha d'émeraude s'effaça, et quand, en 1443<sup>(2)</sup>, le ôedi qui le cachait s'effondra<sup>(3)</sup>, on ne le reconnut pas dans la statue maquillée qui fut découverte dans les décombres, et l'on se borna à le transporter, avec les autres statues, dans le vihāra du Wāt. Ainsi, à la lacune mystérieuse que nous constatons dans les récits de A et LP, correspond, au moins partiellement, dans les récits qui se font l'écho de la seconde tradition, une longue disparition, non moins mystérieuse, de la statue pourtant célèbre jusque là. On est de nouveau conduit à penser qu'il se cache ici un événement d'une importance capitale dans l'existence de la statue.

Peu de temps après le transport de la statue dans le vihāra du Wāt, une partie de son maquillage tomba, et la pierre précieuse apparut. On reconnut le Bouddha d'émeraude, et l'on célébra sa réapparition dans de grandes fêtes au cours desquelles la statue, comme pour mieux convaincre les fidèles de son identité, manifesta toutes sortes de prodiges. Le bruit de la découverte parvint au roi de C'iang Māi, qui ordonna de transférer la statue dans sa capitale. Elle fut placée sur le dos d'un éléphant blanc, et l'on sortit en grand cortège de C'iang Rai<sup>(4)</sup>. Tout le long de la route, bonzes et laïcs lui rendirent hommage, ceux-là par des prières, ceux-ci par des chants et des danses. Dans les endroits où l'on s'arrêtait, on récitait le Vessantarajātaka. Arrivé à la ville de Jayasaka<sup>(5)</sup>, l'éléphant qui portait la statue fut incapable d'avancer plus loin; la statue se fit si lourde qu'il tomba à terre sous son poids, en poussant des barrissements effroyables. Le roi de C'iang Māi, comprenant que la statue refusait de se laisser

(1) Cette explication paraît impliquer que la tradition qui ignore le séjour de la statue à Lāmpang était déjà courante au temps de l'auteur de J et qu'il a senti le besoin de la détruire.

(2) Date fournie par le ms de C'iang Māi cité par M. C. Notton, p. 42. J se borne à dire que la statue redevint célèbre sous le règne du roi de C'iang Māi Bilakarāja (Tilakarāja) qui, d'après la même source et le ms de C'iang Māi ci-dessus mentionné, monta sur le trône en 1441. PY place l'événement en 1436, sous le règne de Sām Fāng Kên, prédécesseur de Tilakarāja. R rappelle le roi de C'iang Māi simplement Mahārāja.

(3) Il tomba de lui-même, selon R; il fut brisé par la foudre, d'après PY.

(4) Le ms de C'iang Māi cité par M. C. Notton p. 42, place cet événement dans l'année Dāp Lāu 807, soit 1445 A. D. Mais il faut alors lire Dāp Pāu.

(5) R est seul à donner le nom de cette ville qui reste à identifier.



transporter dans sa capitale, résolut de tirer au sort la ville sur laquelle elle serait dirigée. Le sort désigna Lāmpang. La statue se laissa aisément emporter en palanquin jusqu'à cette ville.

Lāmpang était alors gouvernée par un fonctionnaire que R appelle Sandha. Il fit construire une maison en bois pour loger la statue. Son successeur, Udarasumoma, entreprit de bâtir un édi en briques pour y enfermer la statue. La foudre détruisit le édi en construction. Le successeur d'Udarasumoma, Sumanā<sup>(1)</sup>, fit construire à son tour un vihāra où la statue fut installée et où elle demeura jusqu'en 1481<sup>(2)</sup>. A cette date, Tilakarāja, roi de C'iang Māi, la fit transporter sans difficulté dans sa capitale et l'installa dans un pavillon royal situé au milieu de la ville.

La suite des événements se trouve décrite dans A et LP. En 1545<sup>(3)</sup>, le trône de C'iang Māi fut offert à Jaya Jettha, fils du roi de Luang Prabang, Bodhisāra, et d'une princesse de C'iang Māi. Trois ans après, Bodhisāra mourut. Ses deux autres fils se proclamèrent rois, l'un à Luang Prabang, l'autre à Vientiane. Jaya Jettha se hâta de se rendre à Luang Prabang pour revendiquer ses droits à la couronne, et, comme il n'avait pas l'intention de revenir s'établir à C'iang Māi, il emporta le Bouddha d'émeraude. En 1551, les habitants de C'iang Māi lui désignèrent un successeur, Mekuti. Jaya Jettha dirigea une armée contre lui. Il s'empara de C'iang Sēn. Mais, devant l'intervention des Birmans en faveur de Mekuti, il renonça à la lutte et revint à Luang Prabang. Il n'y resta que peu de temps. En 1564, il transporta sa capitale à Vientiane, emmenant avec lui le Bouddha d'émeraude qu'il plaça dans une chapelle de son nouveau palais.

Les chroniques siamoises nous permettent maintenant d'achever rapidement le récit. En 1778, Vientiane fut prise par le général siamois Čāu Pāya Māhākṛasāt cāk. Il s'empara du Bouddha d'émeraude et le ramena à Thronbūri (Bangkok-rive droite), alors

<sup>(1)</sup> R dit que ce fonctionnaire, s'étant acquis du renom à la guerre, reçut le titre de Narindra; il l'appelle aussi Narissara et Purindra.

<sup>(2)</sup> Date fournie par J et le ms. de C'iang Māi cité par M. C. Notton, p. 42. Selon PY, Tilakarāja, en 1468, aurait appelé à C'iang Māi le gouverneur de Lāmpang, Mū'n Lōk, qui était son oncle, et lui aurait conféré le titre de Mā'n Lōk Sām Lan; c'est à cette occasion que le Bouddha d'émeraude aurait été transporté à C'iang Māi.

<sup>(3)</sup> Nous suivons ici A. On sait que les chroniques laotiennes fixent généralement à l'année suivante l'avènement de Jaya Jettha.

capitale du Siam. Le roi Pāya Tāk ordonna au patriarche et à tous les hauts dignitaires de l'Eglise d'aller recevoir la statue à Sābhāri où elle arriva au début de l'année 1780. Lui-même alla au-devant d'elle jusqu'à Bang Th'ōrāni. Il la fit placer au Wāt Aruṇa, qui était alors compris dans l'enceinte du palais royal. Deux années après, le Pāya Tāk, devenu fou, fut exécuté, et le général Čau Pāya Māhākṛāsāt cōṅk monta sur le trône. Le nouveau roi transporta la capitale sur la rive gauche du Mēnam. En Mars 1785, il fit déposer la statue dans la chapelle du nouveau palais où elle se trouve encore aujourd'hui. La chapelle, communément appelée Wāt Praḥ Kēu (Wāt du Bouddha de pierre précieuse), porte officiellement le nom de C'irātanaçāstārāma, traduction plus ou moins sanscrite du nom vulgaire. La statue fut d'abord placée à hauteur d'homme sur un autel de forme pyramidale surmonté d'une sorte de dais. Le socle monumental sur lequel cet autel est aujourd'hui posé date du règne de Praḥ Nāng Klāu, troisième roi de la dynastie (1824-1851).

Les chroniques sont fort sobres de détails sur ce qui touche le culte rendu au Bouddha d'émeraude dans les diverses villes qui ont eu la gloire de le posséder. Il n'y a guère que le *Ratanabimbavamsa* qui fasse exception à ce laconisme, mais les informations qu'il nous donne ne se rapportent qu'aux séjours de la statue à Čieng Rai et à Lāmpang. Pour toute la période antérieure, on chercherait vainement dans les chroniques un trait dépassant les banalités habituelles chez les auteurs pâlis.

Le *Ratanabimbavamsa*, récit généralement plus prolix que les autres, décrit avec des détails intéressants le programme des fêtes rituelles observées à Čieng Rai et à Lāmpang. Aussitôt reconnue l'identité de la statue découverte sous les ruines du čedi, le roi de Čieng Rai s'empresse d'aller lui rendre hommage, en répandant sur elle de l'eau parfumée. A sa suite, " tous les habitants de la ville l'ondoyèrent avec de l'eau parfumée. Et quand ceux qui l'ondoyaient étaient doués de bonnes qualités, telles qu'une foi pure, ou s'étaient acquis des mérites par la pratique de l'aumône et des autres vertus, ou avaient toujours rempli leurs devoirs envers leurs parents, ou avaient toujours montré du respect aux membres aînés de leur famille, l'eau dont ils l'ondoyaient se répandait sur tout le corps de la statue,

l'huile qu'ils versaient tombait dans le bol de leur lampe, et leur lampe allumée brillait parfaitement. Quand ceux qui l'ondoyaient étaient des pécheurs, qui avaient commis de mauvaises actions, comme de tuer ou de frapper leurs parents, pas même une goutte de l'eau dont ils l'ondoyaient ne se répandait sur le corps de la statue, l'huile qu'ils versaient ne tombait pas dans le bol de leur lampe, et leur lampe, quoi qu'ils fissent, ne brillait pas. Mais si, s'étant souvenu des péchés qu'ils avaient commis, et ayant reconnu leurs fautes et demandé pardon à leurs père et mère, ainsi qu'à tous ceux qu'ils avaient offensés, ils revenaient ondoyer la statue, l'eau qu'ils versaient se répandait sur tout le corps de la statue, leur lampe allumée brillait parfaitement. Ainsi, l'excellente statue, quoique privée de vie, était comme vivante, repoussant les péchés de ceux qui font le mal, accueillant les mérites de ceux qui font le bien, elle accomplissait toutes sortes de prodiges. ...<sup>(1)</sup>

A Lampang, le vihāra construit par Sumanā comportait à la place de l'autel un enfoncement (*guhā*) fermé par une porte, où la statue fut déposée. La porte, soigneusement gardée, était ouverte les 8<sup>e</sup>, 14<sup>e</sup> et 15<sup>e</sup> jours de la lune croissante et décroissante pour permettre aux fidèles de déposer leurs offrandes et de faire leurs dévotions. En outre, à une certaine époque de l'année, la statue était sortie de sa niche et installée sur un trône au milieu du vihāra. Les habitants de la ville, précédés par le roi et sa suite, venaient en procession, porteurs de vases remplis de parfum, et ondoyaient la statue. Celle-ci émettait des rayons de lumière, tantôt d'un vert sombre, tantôt jaunes, tantôt blancs. Et, comme à C'ieng Rai, elle discernait les bons et les méchants, refusant de se laisser toucher par l'eau des pécheurs et de donner de l'éclat à leur lampe.

On a vu qu'à C'ieng Māi, le Bouddha d'émeraude fut installé dans un pavillon spécial, dépendant du palais. A Vientiane, il fut placé dans la chapelle du palais royal. Jaya Jettha lui offrit, nous disent A et LP, un équipement (*parikkhāra*) complet, notamment un bol d'or, un parasol d'or, une ombrelle d'or, des vases d'or, et tous les ustensiles nécessaires pour le culte, en argent et en or; il lui donna en outre pour la servir cent esclaves femmes et autant d'esclaves mâles.

A Bangkok, le Bouddha d'émeraude est considéré, ainsi qu'on l'a

(1) *Ratanabimbavamsa*, p. 149-150.



dit avec raison, comme le palladium de la dynastie des Cakkri, et il tient, dans le culte officiel et dans la vénération populaire, une place qu'aucune statue du Bouddha ne semble avoir jamais occupée au cours de l'histoire siamoise. Ni le Prah Çrisarvajña, ni le Prah Sihing, les deux statues qui se trouvaient dans la chapelle des rois d'Āyūthya, n'étaient particulièrement associés à la fortune de la maison royale et de la nation<sup>(1)</sup>. Les raisons qui, dans la nouvelle capitale, ont fait attribuer ce caractère au Bouddha d'émeraude sont étrangères aux traditions siamoises et probablement toutes personnelles au fondateur de la dynastie des Cakkri. Le roi Prah Pātthā Yōt Fa vouait une vénération spéciale au Bouddha d'émeraude. Il croyait naturellement aux pouvoirs surnaturels de la statue, et le fait qu'elle était venue en sa possession si peu de temps avant son élévation au trône ne pouvait pas lui apparaître comme indifférent. L'importance exceptionnelle qu'il attachait à la possession du Bouddha d'émeraude n'est pas marquée seulement par la place d'honneur qu'il lui attribua dans la chapelle royale, l'appelant de la sorte à présider à toutes les grandes cérémonies religieuses, ainsi qu'aux actes de dévotion privée du souverain. Elle se manifeste encore dans le nom qu'il donna à la nouvelle capitale. Les mots *pavararatanakosindra* qui entrent dans la composition de ce nom et qui y précèdent même les titres hérités des anciennes capitales, se rapportent, en effet, à la présence à Bangkok du célèbre joyau<sup>(2)</sup>. Ainsi, le roi se plaçait, lui et son royaume, sous la protection du Bouddha d'émeraude. Les princes vassaux et

(1) Le Prah Çrisarvajña est une statue du Bouddha debout, du style de Sūkhōtāi, fondue sous le règne de Ramadhipati II (1491-1529). Retrouvée dans les ruines de la chapelle après la destruction d'Āyūthya par les Birmans, elle fut transportée à Bangkok et ensevelie sous le premier des grands stupas du Wāt Pō. Le Prah Sihing fut apporté de Çieng Māi à Āyūthya en 1662; restitué à Çieng Māi par les Birmans après la prise d'Āyūthya, il fut repris par les Siamois en 1795; il se trouve aujourd'hui au Musée de Bangkok, après avoir été placé jusqu'au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la chapelle du Bouddha d'émeraude.

(2) Sur ce point, v. พระพุทธนิพนธ์คุณโกสินทร์วิจารณ์ ๓, p. 73, et pour plus de netteté encore, la Proclamation du roi Nongkāt mentionnée *supra*. Bangkok, dans le style officiel, est "La Grande Cité d'Indra Kosiya possesseur du Joyau Suprême, etc.", c'est-à-dire, en termes clairs, "la Capitale du Souverain qui possède le Bouddha d'émeraude." Ainsi, Luang Prabang est appelé du nom de la statue non moins célèbre qui est le palladium du royaume laotien.

les fonctionnaires prêtèrent désormais le serment dans la chapelle royale, pour que la statue pût être prise à témoin. Pour certaines cérémonies d'État qui ont lieu en dehors de la chapelle, comme le couronnement et la grande cérémonie propitiatoire du Nouvel An (*trât*), la présence du Bouddha d'émeraude fut jugée indispensable, et, jusqu'au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, on le transporta effectivement dans la salle du palais où se déroulait la cérémonie. Le roi Mongkut (1851-1868) mit fin à cet usage en raison des dangers auxquels la statue était exposée durant le transport; mais il ordonna qu'elle serait fictivement réunie au palais au moyen d'un cordon de coton. En outre, pendant les périodes de calamités publiques, on eut recours au Bouddha d'émeraude pour écarter les fléaux que les cérémonies propitiatoires habituelles n'avaient pas réussi à apaiser. Ainsi, lors de la grave épidémie de choléra de 1820, la statue fut promenée dans tous les quartiers de la capitale, tantôt en barque, tantôt en palanquin, escortée de hauts dignitaires du clergé qui répandaient autour d'eux de l'eau ou du sable bénits<sup>(1)</sup>. Avec le temps, la célébrité de la statue n'a cessé de s'étendre et de grandir. L'heureux développement du pays, les progrès réalisés depuis la fondation de Bangkok, les succès de la dynastie des Chakri sont attribués à son influence, et ont consacré dans tous les esprits la réalité des pouvoirs attestés par la légende<sup>(2)</sup>. Le Bouddha d'émeraude est devenu l'idole nationale, le plus puissant porte-bonheur du royaume, et la vénération dont il jouit tend à reléguer dans l'ombre les anciennes divinités protectrices. On l'a bien vu lors des récentes fêtes du 150<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la fondation de Bangkok: Le 4 Avril 1932, un spectacle grandiose fut offert au public sur la place qui s'étend devant le palais. Le roi, en présence des troupes et des délégations des écoles, offrit d'abord un sacrifice propitiatoire sur un autel orienté dans la direction de la chapelle royale. Puis, tous les participants se tournèrent comme le roi vers la chapelle, et, les mains jointes, tantôt debout, tantôt agenouillés, récitèrent des prières pour le bien du royaume<sup>(3)</sup>. Deux jours

(1) V. *History of Vat Mahādhātu*, JSS, XXIV, p. 14.

(2) En revanche, les événements de Juin 1932 ont fait dire à un haut dignitaire du clergé bouddhique que le Bouddha d'émeraude n'avait plus de *bhā* (*puāā*, mérite en tant que générateur de pouvoirs surnaturels).

(3) Une tradition, toute populaire il est vrai, associe le Bouddha d'émeraude à la fameuse prophétie qui fixe à 150 ans la durée de la dynastie des Chakri. On peut se demander si l'appel émouvant adressé le 4 Avril 1932 au Bouddha d'émeraude n'avait pas pour objet d'obtenir une remise du terme fatidique.



après cette manifestation émouvante, le *lāk mu'ong*, la borne sacrée où réside le génie tutélaire de la ville, était honoré à son tour. La cérémonie, exécutée par quelques fonctionnaires en service commandé, passa presque inaperçue.

On a vu qu'à C'ieng Rai et à Lāmpang, le Bouddha d'émeraude était l'objet d'un culte spécial, consistant essentiellement dans un ondoisement (*abhiṣeka*) accompli par le roi d'abord, puis répété par tous les fidèles. On retrouve ce culte à Bangkok, bien que la pratique de l'ondoisement des statues soit beaucoup moins générale au Siam qu'au Laos. A la différence de ce qui se passait dans les deux villes laotiennes, le roi, à Bangkok, est le seul à ondoier la statue; mais après la cérémonie, le peuple est admis à pénétrer dans la chapelle et à venir puiser dans des bassins où une partie de l'eau destinée à l'ondoisement a été reversée, de telle sorte que l'essentiel de l'ancien rituel est conservé. Toutefois, le pittoresque usage des lampes a disparu. D'autre part, l'ondoisement est pratiqué à Bangkok au moment où l'on change le vêtement de la statue, et ce changement de vêtement est devenu le fait saillant qui a donné son nom à la cérémonie. L'usage de parer les statues du Bouddha d'ornements mobiles, si lointaines que soient ses origines<sup>(1)</sup>, est, au moins pour l'époque de Bangkok, un usage plutôt laotien que siamois<sup>(2)</sup>, et nous serions tenté de voir, ici encore, une partie de l'ancien rituel attaché au Bouddha d'émeraude qui a été transportée avec la statue dans la capitale siamoise. Le roi Prah Pātthā Yōt Fa offrit au Bouddha d'émeraude deux vêtements, l'un pour la saison chaude, l'autre pour la saison des pluies. Un troisième vêtement, pour la saison froide,

(1) Nous renvoyons ici au beau travail de M. Paul Mus sur le *Buddha paré*, BEFEO, XXVIII, p. 153.

(2) Certaines statues du Bouddha particulièrement vénérées, comme le Jinasīha du Wāt Pavaranīvega, ont bien reçu des rois de Bangkok certains ornements comme des bagues, une flamme supplémentaire pour les parer aux jours de fête, mais il n'y a rien de comparable à l'habillement complet du Bouddha d'émeraude, et surtout il ne s'agit que d'actes de dévotion personnels, analogues au geste du fidèle qui suspend une guirlande de fleurs au cou de la statue.

fut offert par le troisième roi de la dynastie, Prah Nang Klau<sup>(1)</sup>. Le vêtement de la saison chaude n'est en réalité qu'une parure, mais si complète et si riche qu'elle habille en effet la statue : collier, pendentif, santour, bracelets, ceinture, épaulières, genouillères, etc, tous bijoux d'une grande richesse en or émaillé et garnis de diamants et de pierres précieuses. La tête est couronnée d'une couronne pointue analogue à la couronne royale, également en or et sertie de pierres précieuses, dont la pointe est ornée d'un gros diamant. Ainsi paré, le Bouddha d'émeraude est dit " en costume d'apparat ", ce qui est aussi l'expression dont on se sert pour désigner le roi quand il revêt tous les ornements royaux. Pendant la saison des pluies, la statue est habillée " à la manière des bonzes ". Son vêtement, beaucoup plus sobre, est fait d'une plaque d'or portant des dessins en relief et ornée de rubis, qui s'adapte sur le corps de la statue, laissant, comme un vêtement de religieux, l'épaule et le bras droits découverts. La tête est coiffée d'une perruque d'or émaillé d'une couleur bleu sombre ; chacune des petites spirales qui figurent les boucles des cheveux est sertie à son extrémité d'un saphir ; la *ragmā*, ou flamme qui pointe sur le sommet de la tête, est faite d'or recouvert d'émaux de diverses couleurs. Le vêtement de la saison froide consiste simplement en un filet de perles d'or qui se pose comme un manteau sur les épaules de la statue. La coiffure est celle de la saison des pluies.

Le vêtement est changé au début de chaque saison, c'est-à-dire le premier jour de la lune décroissante des 4<sup>e</sup>, 8<sup>e</sup> et 12<sup>e</sup> mois (approximativement, Mars, Juillet et Novembre). La cérémonie à laquelle ce changement de costume donne lieu est la même pour chacune des trois époques de l'année. Nous en donnons une description d'après l'ouvrage classique du roi Chulalongkorn sur les cérémonies des douze

(1) La brochure de M. C. Notton contient d'excellentes photographies du Bouddha d'émeraude avec ses différents vêtements. Une planche du livre de Sir John Bowring (*The kingdom and people of Siam*, I, p. 316) représente aussi les trois aspects de la statue (mais le coloriage de l'image de gauche a été mal exécuté, le manteau doré devant recouvrir les deux épaules, comme l'indique du reste le liseré qui apparaît nettement sous le vert sombre dont il a été recouvert). Cette planche, à son tour, est la reproduction d'une étoffe imprimée exécutée par ordre du roi Mongkut pour être répandue à l'étranger. Une de ces étoffes se trouve au Musée chinois du Château de Fontainebleau.

mois<sup>(1)</sup>. Au jour fixé, un escalier est installé derrière l'autel, donnant accès à une petite plateforme située à hauteur de la base du dais sous lequel la statue est placée. Le roi monte les degrés, suivi d'un page qui porte l'épée royale. Parvenu sur la plateforme, il prend une conque qui est toujours laissée dans le dais et qui n'est employée que pour cette cérémonie<sup>(2)</sup>. Cette conque a été offerte à la statue par le roi Mongkut. Le roi la remplit d'une eau parfumée contenue dans un vase de cristal placé auprès de lui, et il en verse doucement le contenu sur la statue. L'ondolement est répété avec une autre conque. Puis, le roi essuie la statue avec deux serviettes<sup>(3)</sup>, l'une pour enlever la poussière, l'autre pour la sécher et étancher l'eau qui a été versée sur elle. Des fonctionnaires du palais présentent alors au roi la couronne ou la coiffe, selon la saison, et le roi la place lui-même sur la tête de la statue. Ceci fait, il vide la conque dans un vase de cristal, et égoutte dans le même vase la première serviette dont il s'est servi. Ensuite, il descend, précédé du page qui, durant la cérémonie, s'était tenu assis sur les degrés de l'escalier. Il s'approche d'une table disposée derrière la statue, à l'angle Nord de l'autel, sur laquelle on a placé le vase contenant l'eau parfumée. Il remplit une conque de cette eau, et, après s'être aspergé la tête, il humecte les deux serviettes qui lui ont servi à essuyer la statue. Parfois, il offre ces deux serviettes à une personne présente auprès de lui, généralement au prince héritier ou à un prince de très haut rang. Ensuite, il verse le reste du contenu de la conque dans trois bassins, respectivement de cristal, d'or et d'argent émaillé, déjà à peu près remplis d'eau parfumée, et qui sont destinés à la foule des fidèles. Puis, il remplit de nouveau la conque et ondoie tous les membres de la famille royale présents. Le reste de la conque est vidé dans un petit vase à l'intention des fonctionnai-

(1) ใต้พระเศียร ใต้พระอุระ. Bangkok, 2463 (1920), p. 529-531. Nous sommes redevable, pour certains détails complémentaires, à S. A. le prince Dhānīvat, qui a été délégué par Sa Majesté pour changer les vêtements de la statue le 3 Novembre dernier (1933).

(2) Cette conque est visible sur la planche n° 4 de la brochure de M. C. Notton. On ne l'emploie plus de nos jours. Le roi (ou son délégué) se sert d'une autre conque qui lui est présentée par un fonctionnaire.

(3) Le nombre de serviettes n'est pas considéré aujourd'hui comme rigoureusement fixé à deux. On en met généralement trois à la disposition de l'officiant.



res. Ainsi, toutes les classes de la société participent, suivant une gradation savante, à la distribution d'eau lustrale. Le roi va ensuite changer la *raçmī* de la statue appelée Sambuddhavarṇī<sup>(1)</sup>, placée dans la partie inférieure de l'autel, au-dessous du Bouddha d'émeraude; il asperge cette statue, ainsi que les deux grandes statues Praḥ Pūthā Yōt Fa et Praḥ Pūthā Lo't Lā<sup>(2)</sup> qui flanquent l'autel, et il allume des cierges et des bâtonnets d'encens sur l'autel. Pendant ce temps, des fonctionnaires ont complété l'habillement du Bouddha d'émeraude. Les brahmanes allument des cierges et les distribuent aux personnes présentes pour procéder au rite circumambulatoire du *wien thien*. Une fanfare de trompettes, de conques et de gong marque la fin de la cérémonie.

On a laissé volontairement de côté certaines particularités de l'histoire du Bouddha d'émeraude qui aideront peut-être à préciser la nature, somme toute mystérieuse, de la dévotion dont cette statue est l'objet depuis plusieurs siècles. L'histoire, ou plutôt les histoires du Bouddha d'émeraude appartiennent à un ensemble de légendes laotieuses qu'on pourrait appeler le cycle des statues itinérantes. Dans le récit d'Ariyavamsa apparaissent, à côté du Bouddha d'émeraude, d'autres statues non moins vénérées : le Suvannasucibuddha ou Praḥ C'āk k'ām (Bouddha d'or pur), le Candanabuddha (Bouddha de santal rouge), L'Aḍḍhabhāgabuddha ou Praḥ Bang, dont chacune a sa ou ses chroniques en pâli ou en vernaculaire. Il y en a d'autres, comme le Praḥ Sihing dont M. C. Notton vient de traduire la chronique<sup>(3)</sup>, et le Praḥ Sikhī, dont la *Jinakalamālinī* nous a conservé l'histoire. Toutes ces statues ont eu une existence agitée. Elles ont passé de mains en mains, de pays en pays, arrachées à leur possesseur par la violence, obtenues par ruse ou cédées par amitié, ne connaissant

(1) Statue de bronze doré fondue en 1830 par le roi Mongkut, alors bhikkhu au Wat Sāmōrai, et placée par lui, après son avènement, sur l'autel de la Chapelle royale, à la place de la statue Praḥ Sihing, transportée au palais du Second roi.

(2) Ce sont ces statues qui, comme on le sait, ont donné leurs noms aux deux premiers rois de la dynastie.

(3) *Pra Buddha Sihinga*, Bangkok, 1933.

guère de paix durable qu'à l'époque moderne. Aussi les récits de leurs chroniqueurs ne sont-ils guère que des itinéraires, avec des haltes plus ou moins prolongées. Itinéraires qui du reste se recoupent et même souvent coïncident, avec des thèmes épisodiques empruntés les uns aux autres. Il est clair que tous ces récits puisent leur inspiration dans des faits congénères et participent du même fonds de croyances. D'autre part, toutes ces statues ont des caractères intrinsèques communs. Leur naissance, généralement placée dans l'Inde ou à Ceylan, est toujours merveilleuse. Leur facture est assez indifférente, si indifférente même que leur possesseur, quelquefois, ne sait pas les distinguer des autres statues qui lui appartiennent<sup>(1)</sup>. Mais la matière dont elles sont faites est toujours remarquable : pierre verte assimilée à l'émeraude, or pur, santal rouge, alliage de matières précieuses, pierre noire. En outre, certaines de ces statues existent en plusieurs exemplaires à la fois, qui sont tous considérés comme authentiques. Un Wât de Lâmpang recèle avec un soin jaloux un Bouddha d'émeraude d'une matière semblable à celle dont est faite la statue aujourd'hui à Bangkok<sup>(2)</sup>. On connaît trois Prah Sîhîng, un à Bangkok, un autre à Chieng Mâi et un troisième à Nak-ôn Cîrî Thâmmarât. Le Bouddha Sikhi a été fait, dès l'origine, en cinq exemplaires de valeur égale. A chaque statue-type est attachée une prophétie qui prédit la prospérité aux divers pays où elle sera vénérée et la suprématie aux souverains qui l'auront en leur possession. Et de fait, là où la statue s'arrête, elle répand le bonheur, par la voie de la religion bouddhique, naturellement. Mais ces statues porte-bonheur ne sont pas des amulettes passives qu'il suffit de détenir pour être favorisé. Elles sont douées de pouvoirs redoutables qui rendent leur conquête et leur possession fort dangereuses. Nul ne les conquiert qu'avec leur complicité tacite. Les manifestations de leur puissance sont aussi nombreuses qu'imprévues. On a vu que le Bouddha d'émeraude, alors qu'il se trouvait à Chieng Rai, avait été rendu méconnaissable par un maquillage, de telle sorte que les fidèles avaient perdu le souvenir de

(1) Tel est le cas, notamment, pour le Bouddha d'émeraude, par deux fois au cours de son histoire (*The Chronicle of the Emerald Buddha*, p. 33 et 43).

(2) S. A. R. le prince Dâmrông (Préface à l'édition siamoise du *Ratana-bimbaramsa*) croit qu'il s'agit d'une réplique qui était substituée à la statue authentique quand celle-ci aurait été exposée au danger d'être perdue ou enlevée. Mais les habitants de Lâmpang sont persuadés qu'ils possèdent bien la statue originale.



sa véritable nature. Mais cette véritable nature, nous dit une version inédite<sup>(1)</sup>, se laissait encore deviner aux calamités de toutes sortes qui accablaient l'imprudent qui avait osé porter la main sur la statue. On a vu comment, une fois nettoyé et rendu au culte, il usait de ses pouvoirs pour maintenir les gens vertueux dans la bonne voie et pour y ramener les pécheurs. On a vu encore comment il résista au roi de C'rieng Māi qui voulait l'installer dans sa capitale, écrasant sous son poids l'éléphant sur lequel il était placé. Le *Ratanabimbavamsa* insiste sur ces caractères qui font de la statue une matière vivante, animée de pouvoirs coercitifs que des ménagements ou un culte approprié tournent à l'avantage des fidèles. Les autres statues du même cycle ne sont pas moins vivantes et agissantes que le Bouddha d'émeraude. Le *Prab C'èk kām* vole à travers les airs pour venir retrouver le *Prab Bang* à Luang Prabang. Le *Prab Bang*, comme le Bouddha d'émeraude, refuse de se rendre dans les lieux qui lui déplaisent, et il n'hésite pas à faire couler la barque où on le transportait contre son gré, sans se soucier du sort des occupants. Un jour, un éléphant furieux détruisit la chapelle où se trouvait la statue, qui fut légèrement détériorée. La bête sacrilège fut peu de temps après tuée par un éléphant sauvage<sup>(2)</sup>. Il est inutile de multiplier ces exemples, au reste imités sans doute les uns des autres. Leur fonds commun, c'est que chaque statue est habitée par un génie puissant et redoutable qu'il ne faut pas contrarier. Ce génie, ce *phī*, puisqu'il faut l'appeler par son nom, n'est pas un simple gardien de la statue, comme certains chroniqueurs voudraient nous faire accroire; il ne fait qu'un avec la statue et se confond avec la matière dont elle est faite. Ce caractère apparaît à certains traits d'humeur dont l'explosion ne peut pas se justifier par le souci de protéger la statue. Ainsi, pour ajouter un exemple de plus à ceux qui ont été déjà donnés, quand, par l'effet de la puissance du Bouddha d'émeraude, la foudre détruisit le cédī que le gouverneur de Lāmpang destinait à la statue, le *phī* n'agissait évidemment pas en protecteur, mais par des motifs tout personnels et impénétrables qui lui faisaient préférer au monument de pierre l'abri simple et provisoire qui lui avait été donné à son arrivée. Mais la volonté arbitraire du *phī* se manifeste encore plus nettement par un trait qui, bien qu'ignoré

(1) M<sup>r</sup>. de C'rieng Māi cité par M. C. Notton, *op. laud.*, p. 41.

(2) Mission Pavie, *Recherches sur l'histoire*, p. 114-115.

des traditions écrites, est connu de toute la population au Siam et au Laos. Si certaines de ces statues ont les unes envers les autres des sympathies particulières qui les font voler par les airs pour se retrouver, d'autres, au contraire, ne peuvent pas se sentir, et l'on doit éviter avec soin de les mettre ensemble, car leur antipathie mutuelle se manifeste bientôt par des phénomènes désastreux. La rivalité entre le Bouddha d'émeraude et le Prah Bang, notamment, est célèbre, et explique les dernières péripéties qui troublèrent, dans les temps modernes, l'existence déjà passablement mouvementée du Prah Bang.

Après la prise de Vientiane en 1778, le généralissime des armées victorieuses ne s'était pas borné à s'emparer seulement du Bouddha d'émeraude; il avait aussi pris le Prah Bang qui se trouvait dans le même monastère; et le Prah Bang partagea avec le Bouddha d'émeraude les honneurs d'une entrée solennelle à Th'ouburi, la capitale du Pāya Tāk. Plus tard, après l'accession de Prah Pūthā Yōt Fa et le transfert de la capitale siamoise sur la rive gauche du Ménam, le Prah Bang fut placé avec le Bouddha d'émeraude dans la chapelle royale du Wāt Prah Kên, et les deux statues jouirent d'un culte commun pendant plusieurs années. Le prince Nandasena, fils du roi du Lan Cang, apprit alors au roi de Siam la haine qui animait les *phī* des deux statues l'un pour l'autre et les conséquences redoutables que provoquait leur réunion dans un même lieu. Et il cita au roi un certain nombre de faits historiques inquiétants. Ainsi, tant que le Bouddha d'émeraude s'était trouvé à Cīeng Māi, le royaume de Lan Cang avait été heureux et prospère; mais du jour où le roi Jaya Jetthā transporta le Bouddha d'émeraude à Luang Prabang où se trouvait le Prah Bang, les vicissitudes commencèrent pour le malheureux royaume laotien. Cīeng Māi se révolta et devint la capitale d'un royaume rival. Puis, les Birmans apparurent et il fallut transporter la capitale de Luang Prabang à Vientiane. Les deux statues ayant été placées ensemble dans la nouvelle capitale, les calamités continuèrent de plus belle et ce fut une suite ininterrompue de malheurs jusqu'à la prise de la ville par les Siamois. Les deux statues à peine installées ensemble à Th'ouburi, des troubles s'élevèrent dans la nouvelle capitale siamoise, le Pāya Tāk devint fou, des rebelles s'emparèrent du palais et de graves menaces pesèrent sur le pays. Et le prince laotien pressa Prah Pūthā Yōt Fa de séparer les deux statues, pour la sécurité de la nouvelle dynastie.



Le roi Prah Patthā Yôt Fa se rendit à ces raisons que tant de coïncidences étranges corroboraient, et il remit le Prah Bang au prince Nandasena quand il envoya ce dernier régner à Vientiane en 1782. Les raisons de la préférence du roi de Siam pour le Bouddha d'émeraude ne sont pas connues. L'éminent historien siamois auquel nous empruntons ces détails<sup>(1)</sup> croit que le Bouddha d'émeraude l'emporta en raison de sa facture, qu'on jugea plus soignée. Gageons que ce choix fut motivé par d'autres mobiles qui nous échappent. En 1827, Vientiane se révolta. Après la victoire des armées siamoises, le général Čau Pāya Bōdīn<sup>(2)</sup> fut chargé de détruire complètement la capitale laotienne afin que le châtimement servit d'exemple aux autres États vassaux, et de ramener le Prah Bang à Bangkok. Le généralissimo siamois s'acquitta de sa tâche avec le soin que l'on sait. Il réussit à s'emparer du Prah Bang, tenu caché depuis la première occupation de Vientiane par les Siamois, au moment où un groupe d'habitants essayaient de l'emporter hors de la ville. Il le rapporta en trophée, avec d'autres statues précieuses, notamment le Prah Čèk kām. Le roi Prah Nāng Klāu, certainement au courant des dangers que créait la réunion de tous ces *phī* ombrageux, ordonna de disperser les statues dans des monastères situés en dehors de l'enceinte de Bangkok. Le Prah Bang fut placé dans un monastère construit par le Čau Pāya Bōdīn lui-même dans le quartier chinois, le Wāt Cakravartī (ou Sām Plūm). C'était encore trop près du Bouddha d'émeraude, et quand quelque calamité sévissait, on ne manquait pas d'accuser le Prah Bang de contrarier les pouvoirs bienfaisants de son rival. En 1865, la récolte de riz fut mauvaise. La sécheresse persista pendant l'année suivante, et les denrées atteignirent des prix inouïs depuis la fondation de Bangkok. En même temps, des miracles se produisirent au Wāt Cakravartī, et attirèrent plus que jamais l'attention sur la statue, qui, murmurait-on, exprimait par là son mécontentement de ne pas être honorée comme il convenait<sup>(3)</sup>. L'année

(1) S. A. R. le prince Dāmrong, *ตำนานพระพุทธรูปสำคัญ*, Bangkok, 2468 (1925), p. 78.

(2) Il portait alors le titre de Pāya Rājasubhāvati. Son nom personnel était Sīng (สิน).

(3) Rev. George Hays Feltus, *Abstract of the Journal of Rev. Dan Beach Bradley*, p. 345-346. — C'est en 1866 qu'apparut dans une des niches du grand édi, l'ombre du Bouddha dont on peut voir la reproduction dans le monastère actuel.

1867 s'annonça plus désastreuse encore que les précédentes. Il fallut bien se résoudre à donner satisfaction au préjugé populaire. Le Prañ Bang fut renvoyé à Luang Prabang, où il se trouve toujours<sup>(1)</sup>. La statue marqua la joie de son retour dans la capitale laotienne par une manifestation qui était bien de sa manière : Un incendie consuma la pagode qu'on édifiait spécialement pour elle<sup>(2)</sup>.

Ainsi, toutes ces statues sont habitées par un *phī* indépendant qui ne fait qu'un avec elles, et qui en est l'essence même. Le culte entièrement bouddhique qui leur est rendu paraît avoir pour effet de canaliser la puissance formidable de ces *phī* au bénéfice de la religion bouddhique. Domestiqués par le culte, ayant pris l'apparence extérieure de statues du Bouddha et traités comme telles, ces génies n'usent plus de leurs pouvoirs qu'au détriment des pécheurs et que pour l'avancement des gens de bien, sauf des retours soudains et incompréhensibles de leurs penchants primitifs. La religion du Bouddha profite de l'ambiguïté de la vénération dont ils sont l'objet. Et quand le *phī* mourra, s'il doit jamais mourir<sup>(3)</sup>, la gloire du Bouddha n'en sera pas touchée. Quand on pense à la force indestructible des croyances animistes parmi les populations t'ai, et surtout au Laos, où le culte des *phī* fut célébré ostensiblement jusqu'en plein xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, on ne peut qu'admirer le pieux stratagème imaginé par les bonzes de formation cinghalaise pour détourner un tel courant de croyances au profit d'une foi plus élevée, à moins qu'ils n'aient été eux-même les victimes plus ou moins résignées d'un syncrétisme populaire spontané. On a pu alors combattre les *phī* à armes égales, précipiter dans le fleuve, comme le fit Bodhisāra, ceux qui n'étaient rien d'autres que des génies isolés, ne vivant que pour eux-mêmes, et

(1) Avant de le restituer, on en fit faire une copie conservée au Wāt Cakra-vartī.

(2) Le Boulanger, *Histoire du Laos français*, p. 238.

(3) A l'heure actuelle, la puissance du Bouddha d'émeraude ne paraît guère s'être affaiblie. L'histoire suivante, qui court encore à Bangkok, en fait foi. Il y a une dizaine d'années, un Luóng, dont on cite le nom, s'avisa de mettre en vente des flacons d'odeur ayant la forme de la fameuse statue. Le bouchon était constitué par la tête du Bouddha, de telle sorte que pour déboucher le flacon, il fallait séparer la tête du corps. Cette idée ingénieuse eut beaucoup de succès. Mais peu de temps après, le Luóng... fut victime d'un accident étrange juste devant la porte de la Chapelle royale : L'automobile qui le transportait se renversa, et il eut la tête à moitié tranchée. Les flacons eurent bientôt disparu du marché.



conserver à l'ombre du Bouddha, tout aussi puissants sur l'imagination des foules, ceux qui se contentaient d'un hommage indirect, irréprochable dans la forme<sup>(1)</sup>. Les chroniqueurs ont bien proposé aux fidèles de chercher l'explication des pouvoirs surnaturels dont ces statues sont douées dans les mystérieuses reliques qui y ont été incorporées au moment de leur fabrication. Mais on sait qu'en dépit des grands efforts d'imagination tentés par le clergé, le culte des reliques a laissé le peuple froid<sup>(2)</sup>. Aussi, personne n'a jamais pensé aux reliques renfermées dans les statues quand il se produisait quelque prodige, et du reste, l'explication aurait paru quelquefois singulière : Car enfin, va-t-on admettre que de saintes reliques puissent se détester ? Tout porte donc à penser que le culte bouddhique rendu à ces statues a été greffé sur de vieilles croyances animistes qui lui ont communiqué toute leur sève.

Des faits de symbiose de ce genre sont fréquents dans l'histoire des religions, et jusqu'ici, nous ne sommes pas sorti du domaine de généralités que la connaissance des traditions locales rappelle naturellement. Le problème qu'il serait vraiment intéressant de résoudre, serait de savoir pourquoi et comment cette symbiose a pris naissance, d'expliquer la présence du *phé* dans la statue du Bouddha. Or, il semble que l'explication ressorte déjà à moitié de la simple analyse des caractères communs à toutes les statues du cycle, tels qu'on les a dégagés au cours de cette étude. On a observé que ces statues sont toutes faites d'une substance remarquable, qui a donné leur nom à plusieurs d'entre elles. On a signalé qu'au contraire, la facture de ces statues ne présentait rien de caractéristique, et la "beauté" qu'on se plaît aujourd'hui à trouver dans le Bouddha d'émeraude, par exemple, n'est nulle part marquée dans la légende et n'est évidemment qu'un élément psychologique de fraîche date. On a montré que les pouvoirs surnaturels dont ces statues sont douées n'ont aucun rapport avec leur caractère bouddhique, et qu'ils appartiennent en propre à la matière même dont elles sont faites. L'importance attachée à la matière est encore attestée par ce fait qu'il existe, pour certaines de ces statues au moins, plusieurs originaux. Il est clair que si les pouvoirs de la statue tiennent à la matière dont elle est faite, et non à ses caractères

(1) Cf. C. Notton, *op. laud.*, p. 31.

(2) L. Finot, *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*, BEFEO, XVII, 5, p. 69-70.



individuels, c'est bien identiquement la même statue qu'on obtiendra en utilisant la même matière. L'histoire du Bouddha Sikhī, telle qu'elle est résumée dans la *Jinakālamālīnī*, va permettre de préciser ces conclusions encore vagues. Nous citons, d'après la traduction de M. G. Coedès<sup>(1)</sup> : " Non loin d'Ayojjapura, sur la rive occidentale de la rivière, se trouvait une pierre noire. De son vivant, le Buddha, accompagné de bhikkhus exempts de passions, voyageait un jour par la voie des airs. Arrivé à cet endroit, il descendit, s'assit sur la pierre noire et exposa aux bhikkhus le Dārukhandhūpamasutta. A partir de ce jour-là, cette pierre devint un objet de vénération et d'adoration perpétuelles pour les dieux et les hommes. Aussi l'appelait-on " Pierre du respect " (*ādarasīlā*). Et voilà pourquoi les vieux habitants du Rammanadesa appelaient dans leur langue cette pierre : *dhimi*. Un jour, le roi suprême du Rammanadesa, maître des rois voisins, pensa : " Cette pierre, qui n'est qu'un objet ayant servi (au Buddha), est une grande source de mérites pour les hommes et les dieux. Si j'en fais une statue du Buddha, elle deviendra pour les dieux et pour les hommes une source de mérites extrêmement abondante jusqu'à la disparition de la religion. " Alors il rassembla les sculpteurs et leur fit faire cinq statues du Buddha. Quand elles furent faites, il en fit placer une à Mahānagara, une à Sudhammanagara, et deux dans le Rammanadesa. Et toutes ces statues étaient douées d'éclat et de puissance magique. . . " Il est sans doute peu de légendes dont le substrat primitif soit aussi transparent. Cela tient peut-être à ce que celle-ci est la dernière venue du cycle. Il est clair, en effet, que le thème banal du voyage du Bouddha n'a été placé là que pour expliquer le respect dont la pierre noire était entourée. Le " roi suprême du Rammanadesa " s'est trouvé en réalité en présence d'une pierre à laquelle on attribuait des pouvoirs surnaturels. En la transformant en statue du Bouddha, il entendait, d'après le pieux chroniqueur, en faire une source de mérites pour les dieux et les hommes beaucoup plus abondante que par le passé. Nous pensons, nous, que persuadé de la vérité de la religion bouddhique, mais sans doute également convaincu des propriétés miraculeuses de la pierre, il ne concevait pas qu'on pût rendre à celle-ci un culte qui n'eût pas l'estampille bouddhique. La " pierre du respect ", une fois muée en statue édifiante

(1) *Documents*, . . , p. 123.

a conservé ses pouvoirs, mais ne s'en est plus servi qu'au bénéfice des fidèles de la vraie religion. Et à ce titre, elle est devenue naturellement une source de mérites d'une abondance, c'est-à-dire d'une qualité, autrement grande. Quelle que soit la façon dont on se représente le processus psychologique qui s'est produit dans l'esprit de celui qui le premier a transformé la pierre noire en statue bouddhique, on saisit ici sur le vif une mutation que le développement plus avancé des autres légendes a réussi à envelopper de mystère. Cependant, pour revenir au Bouddha d'émeraude, auquel nous allons nous tenir désormais, la légende attribue à son fondateur Nāgasena un raisonnement fort voisin de celui que la *Jinakālamālīnī* prête au roi qui fit exécuter le Bouddha Sikhi. Toutes les versions s'accordent pour prêter à Nāgasena cette idée que, pour soustraire aux convoitises des méchants la statue qu'il projette de faire, il faut employer, non pas l'or ou l'argent comme on faisait jusque là, mais une pierre précieuse douée de pouvoirs surnaturels. Remarquons l'absurdité du raisonnement si l'on en prend tous les éléments à la lettre. Remplacer l'or ou l'argent par une matière plus précieuse encore est un singulier moyen d'écarter les convoitises des méchants. En réalité, l'élément essentiel, dans l'esprit de celui qui a conçu la statue, ce sont les pouvoirs surnaturels dont est douée la matière qui va être employée. Ainsi, on retrouve encore ici l'existence d'une pierre déjà vénérée pour ses vertus magiques avant d'être transformée en statue du Bouddha. Et quant aux convoitises des méchants, serait-il vraiment aventuré d'y voir l'hommage rendu à la pierre en tant que telle, ce culte inférieur qu'une pieuse utilisation de la pierre va changer en aspirations autrement méritoires, en même temps qu'elle tiendra les pécheurs écartés? Seulement, ce n'est pas au début de l'histoire qu'il faut placer cette transformation. On a vu que la statue, en raison de son style, n'a guère pu être taillée qu'à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, au plus tôt, à un moment où, vraisemblablement, son histoire était déjà bien avancée. On est donc conduit à penser que la légende s'est d'abord formée autour d'une gemme verte, jade importé de Chine ou substance précieuse trouvée dans le milieu même, gemme remarquable à divers titres, et d'abord par sa grosseur, mais surtout par les pouvoirs qu'on lui attribuait. Le folklore indochinois est rempli de récits merveilleux fondés sur les vertus magiques des bijoux. On connaît le rôle que joue au Siam, dans certaines cérémonies propitiatoires, l'auneau aux neuf



gemmes dont la puissance était reconnue autrefois pour telle que les plus hauts personnages seuls étaient admis à le porter<sup>(1)</sup>. Il n'y a donc assurément rien de surprenant à ce que la pierre verte de Chine ou de Nân se soit vue attribuer des pouvoirs surnaturels et qu'elle ait été regardée comme un gage de puissance et de prospérité. On n'insisterait pas davantage sur ce point, s'il n'y avait à signaler pour le cas présent un rapprochement pour le moins singulier. On sait que des inscriptions encore *in situ* à l'entrée du palais royal d'Angkor Thom nous ont conservé la formule du serment prêté en 1011 A. D. par certains dignitaires de la cour du roi Sūryavarman I<sup>(2)</sup>. Cette formule, dont on a souligné l'analogie frappante avec celle que prononcent de nos jours les fonctionnaires cambodgiens et celle qu'ont prononcée jusqu'à l'année dernière les fonctionnaires siamois, porte que le serment était prêté "en présence du Feu sacré, du saint joyau, des brahmanes et des *ācāryas*." On ne sait, il est vrai, ce qu'était ce saint joyau (*vrah ratna*). Mais sa présence à côté du Feu sacré semble bien indiquer que son rôle, si mystérieux qu'il paraisse, ne se bornait pas à celui d'un témoin ou d'un substitut de la personne royale. Ce n'est guère s'avancer que de supposer que ce joyau était doué d'une puissance redoutable aux fonctionnaires parjures, soit qu'il abritât (comme le parasol des rois de Ceylan) une divinité protectrice de la dynastie kmère, soit qu'il fût animé d'une vie impersonnifiée, confondu avec les vertus propres à la pierre. Voilà qui non seulement vient corroborer et préciser les données générales du folklore, mais qui peut-être explique également pourquoi la légende fait passer le Bouddha d'émeraude à Angkor Thom : La pierre verte s'associait là à un passé plein de prestige, et peut-être même en héritait. Il devient alors assez troublant de constater qu'à Bangkok, non seulement la formule du serment était analogue à celle que prononçaient les fonctionnaires de Sūryavarman I, mais encore que cette formule était, comme à Angkor Thom, prononcée devant un joyau qui pour avoir été taillé en statue du Bouddha, et grâce à l'ambiguïté du terme, pouvait toujours s'appeler le Saint joyau. Quoi qu'il en soit, en pays laotien, les vertus mira-

(1) Sur le *Nophakau ring*, cons. notamment G. E. Gerini, *Chulakuntamangala*, Bangkok, 1893, p. 148.

(2) G. Cœdès, *Études Cambodgiennes*, IX, *Le serment des fonctionnaires de Sūryavarman I*, BEFEO, XIII, 6, p. 11.

euleuses de la pierre verte ne pouvaient être attribuées qu'à un *phé*, ne faisant qu'un avec la substance de la pierre. La possession de ce gage de puissance suscita, entre les chefs locaux, des rivalités dont les chroniques ont conservé le souvenir. Il serait évidemment hasardeux de chercher à mettre des dates. Il est possible qu'avant de se parer de l'auréole angkoriéenne, la pierre verte ait connu une longue période de préhistoire obscure, dont aurait surnagé le nom d'Ādittarāja. Mais, à en juger d'après les quelques données historiques fournies par les chroniqueurs touchant les premières tribulations de la statue, il ne semble pas trop téméraire de fixer l'époque à laquelle la pierre verte atteignit sa notoriété dans le siècle même de la fondation d'Āyūthya. Époque politique des plus troubles, dont la confusion est symbolisée par les déplacements rapides et nombreux de la statue. Période des plus troubles également au point de vue religieux, où le bouddhisme, affaibli par son expansion, contaminé par les croyances locales, n'avait pas encore subi le redressement qu'allait opérer la venue de moines imbus de la pure tradition cinghalaise. Dans la seconde moitié du *xiv<sup>e</sup>* siècle, certaines chroniques font subir au Bouddha d'émeraude une transformation suivie d'une éclipse très longue, au cours de laquelle on va jusqu'à perdre son souvenir, tandis que d'autres présentent un hiatus ou trahissent un embarras évident. C'est à ce moment là que nous serions tenté de placer la métamorphose de la pierre verte en statue bouddhique. Simple hypothèse, mais corroborée, on l'a vu, par le style de la statue et par des synchronismes historiques au moins troublants. N'est-ce pas à ce moment là précisément que le bouddhisme cinghalais s'implante définitivement au Laos sous sa forme la plus pure ? Devant l'intransigeance des réformateurs, soutenus par le pouvoir royal, le *phé* de la pierre verte devait ou disparaître ou se convertir. On voit qu'il s'est d'abord caché comme pour s'assurer si le triomphe des nouveaux venus serait définitif. Puis, il a reparu, après avoir pris les traits du Vainqueur. Mais ce n'était que pour mieux couronner sa carrière.



AN ACCOUNT OF THE HUNTING OF THE WILD OX ON HORSE BACK IN THE  
PROVINCES OF UBOL RAJADHANI AND KALASINDHU, AND THE RITES  
AND CEREMONIES WHICH HAVE TO BE OBSERVED

By FRANCIS H. GILES

(PHYA INDRA MONTRI)

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The author has already published in this Journal (Vol. XXIII, pt. 2 and Vol. XXV, pt. 2) an account of elephant hunting on the Korat plateau as well as in the province of Langsuan, situated on the sea board of Siam. These two papers not only record the methods adopted in hunting, but also give a full account of the ceremonial rites which have to be performed in order to bring the hunt to a successful issue. The present paper deals in a similar manner with the hunting of the wild ox. The writer hopes to be able to prepare a paper dealing with the ceremonies surrounding the catching of the *Plabuk* (ปลาบึก) a kind of catfish, of the genus *Pangasius* in the Mekhong river.

This paper, on the hunting of wild ox, should be of interest to the anthropologist as well as the hunter of big game. The ceremonial which surrounds the acts of hunting and the rites which have to be performed give an insight to the beliefs of the people. One peculiar feature is that the hunters are protected by the chief spirit of a shrine which is the dwelling place of this spirit. The spirit enters the men, goes with them on the hunt, and they lose their identity in that of the ponies they ride. On the completion of a hunt the spirit returns to its shrine. Many enjoiments of a prohibitory nature are laid on the hunters as well as their women. When any act of importance is to be carried out it is necessary for the chief huntsman to recite a prayer or stanza or to make some decoration to the spirits of the forest. The voice speaking to the spirits of the forest is that of the chief spirit of the shrine, who accompanies the men. Attention is drawn to the act of driving away the spirit which hovers about the *Kang Luei* (คนเลี้ยง) plant and prevents the use by human beings of the beneficial properties inherent in that plant. When this spirit has been driven to a distance, a huntsman

digs up the roots and by virtue of the spirit which is in him is able to utilise the beneficent properties to give his men and their ponies courage and endurance. The same act is performed when taking timber to erect a Kraal or Kedah for the trapping of elephants. I do not know the scientific name of this plant, but it would seem to possess a certain quality which acts as a stimulant or produces a form of intoxication which causes the men to be devoid of fear. There seems to be very little if any trace of the influence of Buddhism in the prayers or stanzas which are used; but there are slight traces of Brahmanic beliefs. The men who engage in this pursuit of hunting the wild ox are eastern Laos, inhabiting a region where there has been Cambodian influence. The prayers or stanzas used are probably of great age, going back to pre-Buddhist and Brahmanic days. This method of hunting the wild ox is not used in any other part of Siam nor have I heard of it in any part of Burma, the Shan States, Cambodia or French Laos. It is probable that the hunting of the wild ox on horse back as described in this paper will be abandoned before many years have passed, owing to the building of roads and the use of motor vehicles, which are rapidly penetrating every part of Asia. In fact it will not be long before all remembrance of ancient customs and habits will have disappeared from the minds of the people inhabiting territories which a few years back were considered almost inaccessible, except to the explorer and adventurer. It is for this reason that I have placed on record an interesting pursuit of a people living in Eastern Siam.

My thanks are due to Khun Satok Supakit (ขุนสาคูมณี), formerly a revenue officer in Ubol Rajadhani and now stationed in Nakhon Rajasima (Korat), for the very kindly help he has given me in ascertaining the facts recorded in this paper.

## CHAPTER I

### HUNTING IN UBOL RAJADHANI

(1) From enquiries made by me, it would appear that the hunting of the wild ox (*Bos Sondaicus*, โขน้ำ) on horse-back is only practiced in two localities, namely in the provinces of Ubol Rajadhani (อุบลราชธานี) and Kalasindhu (กาฬสินธุ์). There are some divergencies in the rites observed in these two districts.

The hunting of the wild ox is followed in the district of Nong Buahi (หนองบัวฮี) situated in Amphur Phimul Mangsahar (พิมูลมังสะหาร) of the province of Ubol Rajadhani, and in the districts of Lub (ลุด) and Kuchinarayana, (กุฉินารายณ์) situated in the province of Kalasindhu. The account given below describes the practice followed by the hunters living in the district of Nong Buahi and was given to me by two experienced hunters named Mo Di Phumchandra (หมอดี พุ่มจันทร์) and Mo Lan Phumchandra (หมอลัน พุ่มจันทร์). Although men are trained for the purpose of the hunt, the profession of hunting wild ox is hereditary in certain families and these men alone attain to leadership in this craft. As the hunting has to be carried out on horse-back, and the weapon used for slaughtering the wild ox is a spear, some training in riding and the use of the spear is required of the men who engage in the hunt. The ponies used have to be fleet, sure of foot, strong, and possess qualities of endurance because the ox is hunted in the forest where trees and other obstacles have to be avoided while riding at full gallop in pursuit of a herd. The men other than the professional hunters go through a course of training in riding and the use of the spear for a period of from seven to fifteen days. A light pole resembling a spear is used for this purpose. The bridle is an article of the equipment of some importance and, having to be strong, is made of plaited cane. The reins are short and end in a loop which the rider holds. The saddle is a padded cushion made of kapok (ฝ้าย) some twenty four inches long by fifteen inches broad and is fixed to the pony's body with girths made of cane web. The hunting party is composed of the leaders or professional huntsmen (นายต้อน), trained hunters (นายต้อน) and servants (ไพร่). These latter look after the transport which is generally bullock carts, cut grass for the ponies, and cook the food for the hunting party. The hunt takes place in the dry season, commencing about the fourth month (February-March).

(2) The first rite to be observed is of some importance as having for its object the prevention of ill befalling the hunters. The men who are about to engage in a hunt must bring their ponies, spears, and saddles to a spirit shrine, and make themselves, and these things over to the spirit, that they may be protected from all evil such as fear, and stumbling on the part of the ponies, breaking of the spears and the slipping of the saddles. This ceremony is per-



formed by the chief huntsman, who makes three prostrations or obeisances before the spirit shrine, before uttering a prayer for protection. The men having assembled in front of the shrine each one makes an offering of one boiled fowl, one bottle of spirits, eight cone-shaped cups holding flowers, and an oblation composed of five cone-shaped cups holding flowers and five wax candles grouped together, symbolic of the five constituents of conditioned life or sensorial existence (ဣန္ဒြေချိဟ်) from which one must escape.<sup>(1)</sup> These offerings are made to the high spirit (ကုဉ်) on the day on which these things i. e. the ponies, spears and saddles are entrusted to this spirit, that they may enjoy his protection. The men who attend this ceremony come within the jurisdiction of the high spirit in all matters, and entirely lose their identity, being known during the period of the hunt by the names of their ponies. Men who follow the pursuit of elephant hunting on the Korat Plateau also lose their identity and are known by the names of their elephants.

(3) Certain enjoinders or prohibitions are laid on these men, viz:—

a) that they shall not enter their own houses, or those of other persons;

b) that they shall not indulge in an amorous intrigue with any woman or have any connection with their own wives;

c) should any article or thing have been left behind in a house, the hunters shall not go to fetch it themselves, but must send a person having no connection with the hunting party;

d) that the hunters and servants shall not carry on their persons or in any manner during the period of the hunt any protecting amulets, charms, or talismans of any description whatsoever, but shall have implicit faith and trust in the protecting power of the high spirit to whom they have entrusted themselves;

e) no woman, whether young or old or a wife of any of the men, shall be allowed under any circumstances to accompany the hunting party.

Should any member of the hunting party contravene any of

<sup>(1)</sup> The five constituents or *skandha* are:—

- 1) matter;
- 2) feelings;
- 3) ideas;
- 4) volition and other faculties;
- 5) pure sensation or general consciousness.

The elemental constituents form part of the Dharma in Buddhism.

these conditions, evil and ill such as death or sickness will befall him. Having committed a breach of any of these prohibitions, confession of fault or sin before the chief huntsman or any other person will not absolve the offender from the consequences or penalties of his fault or sin. It is almost unknown for any member of a hunting party to commit a breach of these enjoinders.

Certain enjoinders are laid on the women belonging to the men during the absence of their husbands on a hunt. These are:—

- a) they shall not wear a white skirt or petticoat under the outer skirt (khu);
- b) they shall not sit on the steps or in the doorway of a house;
- c) they shall not throw baskets or others such receptacles from the house to the ground;
- d) when giving alms of food, such alms shall not be given with the bare hand but should be placed on some article. All such alms must be made in a sitting posture as an act of reverence;
- e) they shall not adorn or beautify their bodies with any powders, perfumes, or gay apparel;
- f) they shall not beat their children;
- g) they shall not indulge in an amorous intrigue or commit adultery with any man.

Should any woman not comport herself according to these enjoinders, ill fortune such as death by goring or falling from a pony, as well as through sickness will be the lot of the respective man.

When the men with their chief huntsman are assembled with their ponies, spears and saddles before the spirit shrine and the chief huntsman has made three ceremonial prostrations before the shrine, he offers up this prayer asking the high spirit to give his protection to those about to engage in the hunt. This prayer is as follows:—

"Spirit of goodness! O Great Chief of hunters, omniscient preceptor spirit! We are about to enter the forest wilds and live therein. We invoke thy power that the hunters, servants, ponies, cattle may be free from injury to foot and hoof. We crave that thee, O Spirit, will guard us safely in the forest that we may not follow wrong paths and lose our way, that the forest may not be dark and when treading the boundless plains that we be not overcome by fear. That should we step on plant or shrub they should bend to earth. That should we tread on wood or timber, it may firm remain. That should the forest be a tangle, we may find the right path

through. That when we lead our ponies we may lead them by the right way too. That when we with our spears thrust, we may stab the ox's neck. That when we evade the ox's rush, we may by the right way go. We ask for fortune and success."

เจ้าขุนหม่อมเจ้าหอดวง พะกำมกต พะกำมจารย์มนต์คนดจะ  
เราขอนพอนเกิน ขอให้คุ้มครองหมอกคุ้มครองหอดคุ้มครองมาคุ้มครอง  
คนอย่าให้เจ็บเจ็บอย่าให้ปวด ให้พะกำมพะกาพทกษรรักษา เรา  
อย่าให้หอดเจ้าดงอย่าให้ผิด เราโลกกว้างอย่าให้ผิดหัวใจ เขยิบไม่  
ให้นอนเหยียบขอนให้ทบ เตะมาให้เหมือนบ้องหอดข่มมาให้เหมือนทาง  
ทางงัวให้เหมือนศอกขอดงัวให้เหมือนทาง ขอให้โรคขอให้หมา."

The chief huntsman having made this prayer, performs a libatory ceremony by pouring a little spirit on the points of the spears, and the head or pommels of the saddles, after which he blows three times on a buffalo horn. When this ceremony is complete the men remove their saddles and spears from the shrine, saddle their ponies and immediately leave the village for the forest. It is required that the men should commence their journey this day although they may only travel a short distance.

(4) The chief huntsman having bathed and dressed himself in white, proceeds to search for a herb or root known as *Kang Luei* (คนเลื้อย). He recites these verse for the purpose of driving out from the plant a spirit, Phraya Thara (พระยาธรร):

"Om, auspicious word, breath of God! Phraya Thara (พระยาธรร) spirit of the air, endowed with knowledge, having power to move through boundless space, riding his spirit horse at speed apace. I with my hammer strike him on the head. Lie thee not at foot of tree; watch thee not about the plants. By virtue of the sacred power Om, retreat, desert thy post and run away, remain thee at a distance from the tree."

"อมพระยาธรรตั้งกรพ พระยาธรรมาพรมาออกพอกๆ ก่อนกุดอก  
หัวพระยาธรร มั่งอย่ามานอนใต้เป่า มั่งอย่ามาเผ่า กก (ต้น) ยา อม  
อะทะเพ็กโหม่งเด็กหน้โกล มั่งอย่ามาโกลดักกยา."



Having driven away the guardian spirit of the plant, the chief huntsman now offers up this prayer, asking that the powers latent slumbering in the root of this good plant may come to life and rise:—

"Om, word of good, cause this power to rise. I have found the precious plant. When required to rise, please rise. When woken from thy slumber, please wake. Shouldst thou be at top of tree, please come down. Shouldst thou be at root below, please come up. This plant loveth me as the elephant loveth his tusks. This plant loveth me as fish loveth the water. It clings to me more firmly than to its best friends. Om, gracious word, by virtue of thy power, that power, that strength inherent in the stones of a fortress hath entered me within, acting as a screen behind, and the golden flashes of celestial axes invisible me make, these two like unto walls of stone hiding me from view. By virtue of power inherent in me, protected by the father, by virtue of power in me fostered by the teacher. The father and teacher bathing below, I refrain from bathing above. The father and teacher bathing above, I refrain from bathing below. I commit no act derogatory to, and I place no indignity on, my teacher. Om, by thy power, I reverence thee, primordial preceptor."

“อมตะดุก ๆ คุณักกยาให้ลูกักดุก กูปดุกกยาให้คั่นกั่นเจ้าอยู่  
ยอศเรญเจ้าลงมา เจ้าอยู่ต่าง เรญเจ้าขึ้นมา กกยาชักกุปาน  
ช้างยักงา กกยาชักกุ ปานปลาชักน้ำ ให้คงเด็คดากว่าเผินทั้งหลาย  
อมตักจับสระหับคง ๆ หินพุทไรเข้าในตนกู ก้ามฝ่ายหลังมัทของขวานฟ้า  
มาบังตนกูของด้ามช้าง เหมือนแผ่นกระดานหิน มาบังตนกู คงดีทริ  
กูคู้มน้ำพ้อ คงดีทริกูคู้มน้ำครุ พ้อครุอาบได้กูบ่อได้อาบเหนือ  
พ้อครุอาบเหนือกูบ่อได้อาบได้ กูบ่อได้ของอาบ กูบ่อได้ประมาทครุ  
อมดีทริจะการพระครูชาจารย์ เจ้าเอย.”

(This phrase อมตักจะหับคง ๆ หินพุทไร is obscure, and I do not guarantee the accuracy of my translation).

When this prayer has been recited, the chief huntsman proceeds to dig up the root of this plant which he distributes amongst his men who eat a piece and tie a portion round the necks of their ponies. It is believed that by doing this the men and ponies become

courageous, and capable of much endurance.

(5) When the hunting party has entered the forest and arrived at that part selected for the hunt where it is known that the wild ox are to be found, the chief huntsman calls together the hunters and requires them to bring their ponies, spears and saddles to a spot under the shade of a tree or near an ant-hill where a ceremony of propitiation has to be performed. The men bring their spears and saddles and lay them together at a given spot, the men standing by, having tied their ponies to form a circle round the spot. The chief huntsman now proceeds to propitiate the Chief Spirit, and makes an oblation, to which each of the men presents one boiled egg, one bottle of spirits, and eight cone-shaped cakes, which number in the case of the servants is reduced to four. This prayer asking for protection is offered up: "Spirit of goodness! We thy slaves, the hunting party, composed of hunters, servants, ponies, oxen, dogs, guns crave thee, O Great Chief of hunters, omniscient preceptor spirit, to grant thy protection to us who have now arrived in the forest wilds. Guard us, that we may not be afflicted by sickness evil or danger." This prayer then follows the same form as that given in para. 3, offered up when about to enter the forest.

When this ceremony has been completed, the chief huntsman instructs his men as to how they are to act, and enjoins on them the prohibitions which have to be observed. In addition to those prohibitions regarding conduct already laid down, the men are warned: (a) not to indulge in angry strife, quarrelling or fighting; (b) not to utter any falsehood or scandal and not to impose one on the other by practicing any act of fraud or deceit; (c) the men are commanded to take their meals together, at the same time; (d) should any grains of rice adhere to the hands of the men engaged in cooking or steaming rice they are not to remove the same by licking with the tongue; (e) they are not to sit astride, any stump or trunk of a tree, nor jump therefrom to the ground; (f) not to fling about any pieces of wood or earth; (g) when collecting firewood, they must take those pieces of wood, which they have laid their hands on and are forbidden to change from one piece to another, because they happen to see something more suitable. Having once placed their hands on any piece of wood, that piece must not be discarded for another but must be brought to the camp; (h) the central or kitchen fire may be used for all cooking operations, except that the boiling and toasting of meat shall not be performed under the iron tripod or grill used for



roasting meat under any circumstances. In fact the roasting or toasting of all meat on a spit is absolutely forbidden as being of evil portent. Should any of the hunters cook, roast or toast meat on a spit, evil will befall them, for they will lose their lives by thrust of spear, or gore of wild ox horns; (i) when the food is ready for a meal the servants arrange the places for the party to sit and partake thereof in a straight line. The chief huntsman takes the foremost place at the top and then each of the hunters takes his place in order of precedence according to age, and then the servants take their place likewise. The chief huntsman must commence eating before the rest of the party can partake of the food; (j) during the hunt, the hunters must sleep separately, must have a separate fire, and use a separate bamboo for holding water. The servants are allowed to sleep together. One servant is attached to each hunter, and there are special men for looking after the transport. The whole party is under the command, and must obey the orders, of the chief huntsman.

Should any member of the hunting party contravene or commit any of the acts which are prohibited as enumerated in this paragraph, the chief huntsman shall call all the men together requiring them to bring their ponies, spears and saddles, to form a council to judge the offender for the sake of upholding the power and prestige of the Chief Spirit. Should the offender be found guilty, he shall be punished according to the gravity of the offence committed against the Chief Spirit. Should the offence be serious, such as quarrelling or fighting, then the punishment is beating with a stick, not exceeding three strokes, but should the offence be slight, then the offender shall beg pardon of the spirit and present an offering of four cone-shaped cakes (กุ่ม) and ceremonial flowers, incense tapers, and candles. The chief huntsman is the judge and passes judgment.

Should a wounded ox make its escape into the forest, or should wild ox be seen but not be kept in contact with, it is held that some member of the hunting party or their women have committed an act contravening the prohibitions laid down.

(6) When the hunting party is in the forest they should not use their ordinary language in connection with certain words and phrases. The words which come under prohibition or taboo are as follows: ก้อน, "spear," should be called ปากไม้, a "pointed instrument;" ตกไม้, "falling from a pony," should be called หนี, "to break down" or



"crumble;" หลงเดือน "to lose one's way in the forest", should be called วนเดือน, "to circle about in the forest;" สัตว์ป่าชน, "to be butted by a beast of the forest", should be called โชน; กลับบ้าน "to return home", should be called กลับบ้าน. These words have been in use from time immemorial. Excepting these words, ordinary language is spoken.

(7) When the time has arrived for entering the forest to hunt the wild ox, the chief huntsman must recite this stanza, for the purpose of bringing the spirits of the forest, hills and dales under control.

"Om, word of power, I will subdue, control the Great Spirit. He of authority and power, I will subdue him. He, with eyes red like unto (forest) fires in the fifth month, I will subdue him. He of speech daring, like unto the rays of the sun, I will subdue him, as well as he of the vales and dales and the pits and holes, I will subdue him. He of the mountains and upland forests, I will subdue him. He of the grassy plains and lakes, I will subdue him. He of the "Yaw wood" posts, I will subdue him. He of the hardwood stumps, I will subdue him. He of the earth, I will subdue him. Having subdued ye all, let ye fall from a standing posture, that ye shall not return and oppose me. I am known as the Spirit doctor, I am known as he, who by shouting at elephants, causeth them to fall. Let ye not return and oppose me. Om, word of power, the teacher commanding me to shout, I shout."

“อมผา ๆ กุจฉาผาทงผทวงตวันนกกตักกุจฉาผา คำผาแดงปาน  
ไฟเดือนท่ากกตักผา ปากผาทาปานแดงตวันนกกตักผา กุจฉาผาทงผ  
หวย และ ผา กุจฉาผา กุจฉาผาทงผผาแดงตวันนกกตักผา กุจฉาผาทงผ  
และผาของกกตักผา กุจฉาผาทงผผาแดงตวันนกกตักผา กุจฉาผาทงผผา  
แก่น กุจฉาผา กุจฉาผา ทงผผาแดงตวันนกกตักผา กุจฉาผาแดงตวัน  
ตมถาตงผผา มงผาตมถาตงผผา ตมถาตงผผา ตมถาตงผผา ตมถาตงผผา  
จาดร้าง ตมถาตงผผา มงผาตมถาตงผผา ตมถาตงผผา ตมถาตงผผา  
จายกให้จาดร้างจาด.”

Having brought the spirits of the forests under control by the recitation of this stanza, the chief huntsman now offers up this prayer being an invitation or invocation to the beasts of the forest to come.

"Om, word of power. Come! Come! Oh please come! Ye mothers all with twisted, crooked horns, bending down and slanting to the back, I invite ye all. The bison, solitary, fierce, and huge, and wild ox, I invite ye all to come. I having sent my invitation, please come out, and graze on the high lands of the forest, brothers all. I having sent my invitation, please come out and lick the salted earth in forest wide, brothers all. He who fails to come, break off a bamboo, strike and force him to come. He who fails to come, break off a branch, strike him on back and cause to come. He who fails to come, break off a *Rang* tree branch, screen the face and cause to come. Om, word of power, teacher mine, hath commanded me to invite, hence I invite ye all. He who fails to come, let him without a liver be. He who fails to come, let his marrow ooze away. He who fails to come, let his eyes sightless be. He who fails to come, let his head drop off and bound away. Om, that sacred word, which giveth power to teacher mine.

“อมเหญ ๆ มหาเหญ กุกกเหญ อีแม่เหญ ค้อแม่เหญ เมยวเกยวกันคั่นหลัง  
กุกกเหญ กุกเหญ ทงควายโคตและนาแข็งโคกกระทิงกุกกเหญ กุเหญ  
แล้วชอกมากินโคกป่าหลวงพี่เนอ กุเหญแล้วชอกมากินมะม่วงข้างพี่เนอ  
โตโตบ่อมาหักไม้บังค้ำให้ด้นมาเนอ โตโตบ่อมาหักไม้ให้ด้นค้ำหลังมาเนอ  
โตโตบ่อมาหักไม้ยังบังหน้ามันมาเนอ อมอิทธิการพระครูบาจารย์ผู้ข้า  
ให้เหญจิงเหญ โตโตบ่อมาค้ำบ่อยาให้มัน โตโตบ่อมาให้มันหล่อน  
ให้ค้ำมันด่อน หัวมันจะเดิน อมอิทธิการพระครูบาจารย์ผู้ข้าเออ.”

(8) Having taken these steps, preparatory to entering the forest the party now commences the serious business of searching for, and hunting the wild ox. The first thing to be done is to consecrate the spear points, giving them power to slay. This stanza is used for this purpose:

"Om, word of power, I shout and roar with terrifying voice. I fill with terror ye mothers all, with twisted crooked horns, with crooked horns, bending down and slanting to the back. I will shout and terrorize ye all. I will also terrorize the bison, fierce and huge wild ox. I will shout and terrorize ye all. He who has been filled with terror, let him fall from standing posture. Let him not return, and oppose me. Om, by virtue of thy power, my teacher hath com-

manded me to terrorize by my voice, hence I shout and roar."

“อนจาด ๆ กุ๊ดจาดทงแม่เขแปยตแม่เขาแปยว  
 กุ๊ดจาดทงแม่เขาแปยวเกยวณคั่นหลังกุ๊ดจาด  
 กุ๊ดจาดทงควายโตคตะบาแรง โคกระทงกุ๊ดจาด  
 กุจาดแคว่นนตมถาวทงย่น ฮยยามาคันคอกุ๊ด  
 อดตขังการพระครุมาจารย์กุให้จาดจิงจาดขะ.”

This verse having been recited the hunting party makes every preparation for the start. The ponies are saddled, the spears are examined and held in right position, the servants, one attached to each hunter, pack up the food and water. The party now takes the trial marching in order of precedence according to age, each hunter leading his pony. When a herd of wild ox is sighted each hunter eats a portion of the consecrated root given him by the chief huntsman. This root has the property of inducing a form of intoxication, which causes the men to become courageous, without fear of danger or death. Each man now mounts his pony, holds his spear in his right hand with the point on the animal's head and the butt on his own hip, takes the reins in his left hand, crying out *beeb*, *beeb*, เบ็บ, and charges on the herd at a gallop. The herd generally turns and flees, followed by the hunters. Then the wild ox show signs of exhaustion which generally occurs after running for 50 *sen* (1½ miles) if the ponies are swift footed and press hard, or for a distance of 150 *sen* (3½ miles), if the ponies are slow. The herd being exhausted, each animal tries to make its escape, and it is at this juncture that the hunters select the animal they wish to take.

The ox rushes through the forest dodging trees and other obstacles, trying to escape, followed relentlessly by the hunter. Finding this impossible as the hunter is always on his heels, he turns at bay, ready to fight for his life. The hunter jumps from his pony, leaving the animal to fend for itself, and places himself with his spear in position to receive the charge of the wild ox. Should the ox charge, the man thrusts at the base of the neck near the shoulder, for if he strikes at the right spot the animal falls dead. Should the ox not charge but stand overcome by exhaustion, the hunter approaches it and thrusts his spear at the animal at such spots as are exposed. Should the hunter's aim be at fault and not strike a vital spot, he



must continue striking with his spear until the animal falls. This may take some time as the animal being wounded tries to get away and may cover some distance before falling dead.

More than one hunter should not follow up the same ox riding one behind the other, as in the event of the forward hunter's pony falling, a serious accident might ensue, and the fallen man be killed.

(9) The hunter having slain his prey, returns to search for his pony which he brings with him to the place where the dead ox is lying. The servants having followed the tracks of the ponies and wild ox soon come up and a search is then made for the other hunters. The servants are sent to bring the carts or other transport to the spot to convey the flesh of the carcass to the camp. Here the carcass is cut up and some portions are prepared as dried or jerked meat (*biltong*), another portion including the spleen and liver being pickled in salt and placed in the sac or stomach. Each member of the party receives an equal share after the hunter who killed the animal has taken his portion. This does not include the neck, the head, the skin, the muscles of both hind-legs and a portion of the loin meat, which is known as the fruit of the spear (ผลของดาบ) and belongs to the hunter who killed the animal.

The fruit of the spear is given to the hunters in the camp but the dried flesh etc. is always divided on return to the home village.

While in the forest camp, after the carcasses of the dead wild ox have been brought in, a portion of the flesh is prepared in the Lao manner by pickling the meat and seasoning it with condiments, another portion being boiled. The meat having been so prepared the chief huntsman has to perform a ceremony of thanksgiving. The men bring their spears, saddles and the heads of the animals slain that day, to a given place. Two portions of the meat prepared as stated above are put into leaf-cups, and placed on the pommel of each saddle as an offering to the spirit. The chief huntsman then makes this declaration:

"We have killed.....ox, and we invite thee, Oh Spirit! to come and partake to repletion of our offering of pickled and boiled meat. We beg that thou wilt grant us thy favour and success in our future hunting."

"เอ็งโคบ่าโคได้.....ตัว ขอบเชิญพระดำเนิ กินตามความชอบและขอให้  
โรค ให้มันค่อยๆไป."

The chief huntsman then blows on a buffalo horn three times and the ceremony which is repeated each time that oxen are slain, is complete. The number of oxen slain must be declared to the spirit.

(10) The hunt being over, the chief huntsman performs a ceremony bidding farewell to the spirits of the forest in which the hunting has taken place. This valediction is couched in these words:—

"May'st thou increase in prosperity, and continue to live in this forest. Go thou not with me. May thou live in health, peace and prosperity. Having played and feasted together, I bid thee farewell."

“ขอให้อูเจ้าอยู่ภูมิจาเวญอยู่ปากพงไพร ย่ำไปติดตามกับภูเข  
ให้ย่ำดินแข่งกับกุ่มดุ่มเข่น ฆ่าเล่นมากินควยกันแล้วจะได้อาไปก่อน  
แล้ว.”

The hunting party now leaves the forest taking the trail for the home village. When passing beyond the precincts of the forest, the chief huntsman has yet to perform another ceremony. This is for the purpose of sending the various spirits who have given their help during the hunt back to their spirit homes and vocations. When sending the spirits home, the chief huntsman says to them:—

"Om, word of power, I send and send ye home. All spirits, spirits of the vales, dales, pits, and holes, spirits of the hills and upland forests I send ye home. Ye spirits of the open spaces and the guardian elves of the fields, I send ye home. Ye spirits of the air and the fields, I send ye home. Ye spirits of the air and trees, ye spirits causing fever and ague, I send ye home. Ye spirits who wander in the night, I send ye home. Ye spirits who roam at eventide, I send ye home. All ye spirits male and female, indulgers in amorous intrigue (เล่นคู่), whose abode in the centre of the forest is, I send ye home. Having released ye all and sent ye home, command ye to fall from standing posture, that ye may not to me return. Peace be with ye all when I have granted your release and to distant places ye have gone."

อมตัง ๆ กุตังตังทงผวยและผุ่ กุตังตังทงผญและผบง กุตังตังทงผ  
ถิงกวามผเสช้อย ถิงนา กุตังตังทงผะหก กุตังตังทงผกกโม กุตังตัง  
ทงผเสชถาน ไซ้และเจบหนาว กุตังตังทงผเทยวคินนา ๆ กุตังตังทงผ  
เทยวคานเหนย ๆ กุตังตังทงผควเมยและควผุ่ กุตังตังทงผเล่นคู่ควอย

กลางคอง กุดงเดวโหมนหมนถาวทงยบ อยามาคนคอกคนกน ไค อย  
 ดหะเพกโหมนเดกหมโก.

(11) When the hunting party has arrived at the home village, at whatever time whether day or night, the men must proceed to the spirit shrine taking with them their saddles and spears which they place before the shrine. Each man then makes an offering of one piece of dried meat, one piece of salted tripe, one bottle of spirits and one basin of perfumed water. The purpose of this visit is to release and return the spirit of the shrine who has accompanied them during the hunt, and to bid farewell of him. The chief huntsman delivers this message: "On the occasion of this hunt we have slain.....wild ox, we now bring them as an offering to thee, we bid farewell to thee, thatched roof shrine. We are free from all prohibitions; if we meet young damsels, we will flirt with them; if we meet elderly persons, we will joke with them. Oh ye spirits of this shrine, reside and live therein as of yore, and when we next time a hunting go, we will invite thee with us to go again."

ไปคราวน ไคเนอ.....ตวโตพากนมาเด็นทอพระกาม นเดวจะไค  
 ้ดาดดาจากพระกามพระกาไปเดว เห็นผุ่สาวกจะไคเว้า เห็นผุ่เม้าก  
 จะค้อแย (และถว้อห้ามทุกอย่าง) ให้พระกามพระกาอยู๋ในหออยู๋ในโง่  
 ่เดย ไปคราวหน้าจรงจะนคอก .

Having bade farewell of the spirit, the men make reverential obeisance with hands joined, thumbs placed between the brows and fingers raised o'er head. They then rise, a buffalo horn is blown thrice, and each man takes his spear and saddle and proceeds to his home. From this moment the men return to their ordinary habits of life, and are free from all enjoinders placed on them. The spears and saddles are put on one side and kept as though they were ordinary chattels.

(12) A hunting party consists of not less than five mounted men and rarely more than fifteen, the number of ox taken varies from four to ten animals. Sometimes two hunts are arranged for in a year. A hunt generally occupies ten to twenty days, but if the forest to be hunted in is situated at a distance, then a hunt may occupy thirty to forty-five days. The forest usually hunted in is known as



Phayaya (พะเยา) situated in amphur Dejudom (เดชอุดม) in the province of Ubol Rajadhani, south of the Mun river.

## CHAPTER II

### HUNTING IN KALASINDHU

The rites and ceremonies observed in connection with the hunting of wild ox in the province of Kalasindhu are somewhat different to those practised in the province of Ubol Rajadhani, although no great distance separates these two provinces. The following is an account of what takes place in the province of Kalasindhu.

(1) Men who engage in this pursuit are found in the villages of Ban Chod (บ้านจ้อด) and Ban Na Charya (บ้านนาจารย์), Tambol Phai (ตำบลไผ่) in the district of Lub (ลุด), the headquarters Amphur of Kalasindhu. The forests in which the hunt takes place are situated in Tambols Kok Krūa (ตำบลโคกเครือ), Mahachaya (มหาไชย), Pon (พน) and Mu Mon (มุมน), in the Amphur district of Sahasakhan (สหัสขันธ์), and in Tambols Chaen Laen (ตำบลจันทแล) and Phu Laen Chang (ภูแล่นช้าง), in the Amphur district of Kuchinarayana (กุดชุมชุน). The hunt takes place during the dry season in the fourth month.

The ponies and their riders go through a course of training in the forest, that they may learn the habit of avoiding obstacles and trees, as well as to learn to jump over streams and shallow places. The bit is made of iron in three pieces and is known as *yai* (ไย). The hunting party is composed of a chief huntsman, hunters and servants, having the same duties as in Ubol.

(2) The enjoinders laid on the hunters are as follows: a) they shall not quarrel; b) they shall not sit on any fallen trunk or stump of a tree; c) they shall not make any article by weaving bamboo strips together; d) they shall not throw or fling any articles about; e) they shall not call out when anything out of the common is seen; f) they shall not thrust their spears into any animal other than wild ox, bison, sambhurdeer, barkingdeer, Pamangdeer, swamp or eld deer, hog deer and all other deer, as well as wild pig; (g) they shall not ride on any animal other than the ponies they have with them.

These prohibitions must be faithfully observed or evil will befall the man who commits a breach thereof.

(3) A start for the hunt must be made in the afternoon of either Tuesday or Friday. Other days are unlucky. An auspicious day having been chosen for the hunt, the chief huntsman, hunters and servants go to the ancestral spirit shrine for the purpose of making offerings to obtain the favour and protection of the presiding spirit. Each man takes three salvers (ถ้วยเงิน), preferably made of metal, but should it be impossible to find these, then any dish, plate, or cup made of leaves may be used. A boiled egg, four pairs of cone shaped leaf cups filled with flowers, and one pair of wax candles are placed on each of the salvers. In addition to these articles, leaf cups filled with flowers known as *hawnimon* (หวนิมอน) are placed on each of the salvers. The *hawnimon* are vested with the special privilege of inviting the chief spirit to assume jurisdiction and authority over all the members of the party. Each man brings a bottle of spirit with him for presentation to the spirit of the shrine. In fact this spirit as in Ubol pervades each member of the party and goes with them on the hunt.

This ceremony of eliminating self and allowing the spirit to control is conducted in this manner. Each hunter brings his spear to the shrine where the spears are arranged with their points uppermost round the altar. The saddles are placed at the foot of the spear butts, each man's saddle against his spear. The ponies are then tethered round forming an outer circle. Two pairs of cone-shaped leaf cups filled with flowers are placed by the hunter on the pommel of his saddle. These cups are known as *suei pishnu* (สวีสพิษณุ) and are taken by the men on the hunt. It is believed that they are vested with the power of warding off all evil and danger. The men have absolute faith in this power and tell about many instances when they and their friends have been saved from death by goring or other cause.

The chief huntsman places oblations on the shrine and addresses the chief spirit in this language:

"Spirit of Goodness, Pishnu, his ancestors and their relations. The ancient Great One and the chief Bejrpani, the ancient Great One and the robber men. Mun spear and Sen drive, Uparaj, Koan Luang, Muang Sen. Oh! all of ye, please come partake of the good things

presented here. Oh! all ye spirits ancestors of indirect or diverging line please come partake of the good things offered here. Do not impede or place obstructions in our way, let us our desires fulfil. When ye speak, say what ye mean by word of speech direct. Cause the ox to travel slowly, the ponies swift and fleet to be, let them move along the right road and not be at fault. When stumps of trees, or other things are met with on the way guide the ponies that they pass by in safety may. Oh! all ye spirits, please hide the herds of wild ox in the caverns, and seize and place them in the Chasms and deep places that we may make them captive and our object thus gained be. The servants with us are like unto dogs and the hunters ignorant of lore behaving like one bereft of reason. The hunting ponies seem like wild dogs. Ancestral spirits, should ye not slay the wild ox we shall have naught to eat. Spirits, do not wrong, hold to that which is right. Seeing the foot prints of the ox, bend down, and scan with care; the ancient spirit hunter we make prostration here. Seeing the ancient spirit teacher we bow in profound respect. When the chief huntsman bathes downstream, we do not bathe above. We do not puff ourselves with pride nor treat ye with derogation. Grant us fortune good, that we may many oxen take. The wild ones of the forest, which ye spirits have not fettered by your will, the wild ones which ye have fettered but without a mate, the wild ones who are mated but have not come, please drive and hide them in the forest in which we are about to hunt.

“ถ้ารู้ ๆ ทอนพิศหนู พระปู่พระตา ธาตุพ่อเฒ่า หมอเฒ่า หมอเพชร หมอเฒ่า หมอโจร หมื่นหอก แดนใต้ อุปฮาด กวน หลวง เมืองแสน ขอให้พร้อมพบกบกันกิน บุ๊คดังกั๊ก พร้อมพบกบ กันกิน ขย้าจันจ้งกอลือ ขย้าไขว้จ้งกอมง ให้ไว้ความเคี้ยว เนี้ยว ความหน่ง ไหว้วแด่น้ำมาแด่นหัน เคาแม่บ่บอง ล่องแม่น้ำทาง พ้อ หัดไหย้อ พ้อตอให้เว้น ให้ซึกใส่ถ้ำ ให้ป๋ด้าใส่เหว แด่งกระซอ หมอเฒ่า มาหมาจอก บุ๊คบ่บอ ข้าให้กินกับบ่บอได้กิน ขย้าก้อสมก้อ ด้า เห็นช้อยพ้อกั๊กเห็นช้อยครูกั๊กฆาบ คุวามได้บ่บอได้ยามเห็นช้อย บ่บอ ได้ช้อยอาบ่อประมาณครุ ขอให้มีโชค ให้หมาจอกเชือกบ่บอพอ ตัวบ่บอ



บิณฑุ์ ศักดิ์บิณฑุ์ ขอสืบของพวก พวกเขย่น" (1)

(4) The chief huntsman having made his offerings at the shrine and addressed the presiding spirit in the terms given above, he then takes the offerings of the men and presents each one separately, making the same address on behalf of each man. When this ceremony is completed, then the chief huntsman performs an act of divination, in order to ascertain whether good fortune will attend the hunt. He takes one of the boiled eggs, breaks the shell, and then examines the egg. Should the yolk appear through the white of the egg, then fortune will be with the hunt. One of these boiled eggs is cut into six sections, each of which is put on to a leaf dish and placed on the shrine as an offering. Sometimes two eggs are offered. No speech or address is made to the presiding spirit when this ceremony of divination takes place.

(5) The ceremony at the shrine being over, the party must leave for the hunt at once. When camping, it is required of the men that they place their spears round the trunk of a tree. The butt is thrust into the ground, and each man places his saddle at the butt and at night is bound to sleep on the ground in front of his spear.

Every third night counting from the day of departure, the chief huntsman has to perform, always at night, before going to bed a ceremony of propitiation to the spirit of the spear head. A wax candle is placed on the spear point, then lit and the spirit is addressed in the same terms as given in para. 3, ending with the words "Muang Sen". He then continues to ask that good luck may be the

(1) Pishnu (พิชณู) is the name of a spirit who at one time was a famous hunter deeply versed in forest lore. The ancestral spirit (เจ้าปู่ เจ้าย่า) are the ancestors of Pishnu. Uncles (ป้า ปู่) are the avuncular relations of the ancestors of Pishnu. The other spirits referred to are spirits of persons who have held high rank and dignity in the State, and those who have attained the great skill in the hunting of wild animals. That part of this address which likens the servants to dogs and the hunters acting like persons bereft of their senses, owing to their lack of knowledge, and belittling the ponies, comparing them with wild dogs, is done for the purpose of humbling the hunters and their horses making them less than the spirits, so that the spirits shall grant them their protection and give them good fortune. It should be remembered that the men have lost their identity and have been filled with the spirit of the shrine.

lot of the hunters, and that the number of wild oxen slain may be great.

The men, whether hunters or servants are allowed to mix together and laugh and joke without restriction. The men use their ordinary language, no spirit or fake words are employed. At the first camp in the forest in which it is intended to hunt, the chief huntsman with the hunters must make an oblation, omitting the boiled egg, to the spirit of the spear head, in the same manner as at the spirit shrine as explained in para. 3. Wax candles are fixed on the spear points and lit, the chief huntsman addresses the spirit in the same language as given above but concluding with a petition that the party may be in good health, free from sickness during the hunt.

(6) The hunters mount their ponies, each one going his own way in search of wild oxen. When these are found the men place the butt of the spear under their armpits with spearhead just over the ponies ear. Should a wild ox charge, the hunter jumps from his poney, screens himself behind a tree or anthill, and awaits the charge. Should the wild ox not see the man, he calls out to attract its attention and when the ox is close enough he thrusts with his spear at a vulnerable spot, and thus despatches him. The men have to rely on their skill and courage in this very dangerous occupation. Should the herd turn and flee, the hunters then ride after it at full speed, and when overtaking any particular animal kill it with a thrust of the spear, without alighting from the saddle. Should other animals which they are not prohibited from hunting be found, they hunt and kill them in the same manner.

(7) When the day's hunt is over, the servants come to the places where the wild ox and other animals have been slain, skin the carcasses, remove the horns and cut up the flesh, all of which is removed to the camp. Next morning each hunter prepares as food certain quantity of the flesh of the animal he has killed as an offering to the spirit of his spear and the spirit of the forest. This food is placed in seven cups or dishes made of leaves. These offerings are taken by the chief hunter and six of them are placed near the butt of the spear belonging to the man who has prepared the offering, and one cup or dish is offered to the spirit of the forest at a place selected for the purpose. When making these offerings the chief huntsman repeats the first portion of the address given in para. 3, ending with the words "presented here". He then concludes by saying: "Oh ye spirits of this place, grant us thy favour that we may

have good fortune in the hunt and enjoy the fruit of our success."

“ *เจตนกตขอให้อุทิศถวายโชกหวานเกิด* ”

This ceremony which must be performed only by the men who have killed an animal, is repeated after each day of successful hunting.

(8) On returning to the home village, it is usual for a hunter who has enjoyed the fruit of his spear to make an offering of thanks to the presiding spirit of the shrine. This offering consists of one boiled fowl, some spirit, rice, flowers and wax candles, but any other article may be used for this purpose. These offerings are made by the hunter himself, not the chief huntsman. The hunter repeats the stanza already mentioned ending with the words "presented here", and asks that help and strength may be his.

The spears used are two edge blades about five centimetres in breadth and fifty centimetres long having a butt made of cane (หวด) about two metres in length.

This concludes the account of wild ox hunting on horse back in two eastern provinces situated on the Korat Plateau.

*Bangkok, 18th October, 1933.*





# THE MĀTAṄGA-LĪĀ

Translated from the Original Sanskrit

by

P. S. SASTRI.

## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

About three years ago Phya Indramontri (Mr. F. H. Giles) was studying the elephant lore of Siam, and, as Siam is a cultural colony of India, he asked me to recommend some Indian book on the same subject for comparative study.

Even in Bangkok, so far away from India, there is a good collection of Sanskrit books at the National Library, which contains four treatises on elephants. One of these consists of only thirty-three stanzas and forms the 287th chapter of the *AGNI-PURĀṆA*. Besides being short it is limited in scope too as it is made up mostly of prescriptions for some of the diseases of the elephant. It has already been translated into English by Mr. Manmath Nath Dutt and published by him at Calcutta in 1904.

Another treatise is found between verses 172 and 331 in the third chapter of *MĀNASOLLĀSA*, an encyclopaedic work composed under the patronage of King Someṣvara Bhūlokamalla some time about 1131 A. D. The text has been published as No. XXVIII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series at Baroda, India, in 1925, and I believe it has not yet been translated into English. But the information contained in this book also is very limited, though much less so than that found in the *Agni-Purāṇa*, and is comprised under five heads, namely: 1. the habitats of elephants in India, 2. the methods of capturing elephants, 3. their good points, 4. their different breeds, and 5. the methods of training them.

The third treatise called *HASTYĀYUR-VEDA*, which also has not yet been translated, is a very voluminous work attributed to the sage Pālākāpya, and has been published by the Ānandāgrama press, Poona (India). This book is written on the lines of a veterinary manual: although it has got much to say on other subjects besides the diseases of elephants and their treatment, generally such information has been arranged piecemeal under one medical topic or another in a way that is very uninteresting to a lay reader. Also, I did not have enough leisure to attempt translating an abstruse work consisting of 717 pages.

The fourth treatise, the *MĀTAṅGA-LĪLĀ* published by the Government of Travancore in South India in 1910 as No. X of the "Trivandrum Sanskrit Series," is small in bulk but rich in the variety of its contents, and, above all, it professes to be a summary of the "Hastyāyurveda" which is considered to be the most authoritative Sanskrit treatise on elephants. But three years ago there was no English translation of the "Mātaṅga-līlā" and I was therefore obliged to make one for the use of Phya Indramontri. Recently when Phya Indramontri asked for my consent to have my translation published in the *Journal of the Siam Society*, I had learnt that a translation by an American Sanskritist, I think by Prof. Edgerton, had already been published. But as I remembered that many important portions of the Sanskrit text are obscure, I decided that there is room for another independent translation even if it should prove to be the worse.

The edition of the Sanskrit text was based upon three manuscripts, all from the same part of the country, the west coast of South India (where wild elephants are met with even to-day). The editor of the text therefore infers that Nilakanṭha, its author, might have been a native of that part of India. The author also gives a vague clue to his home and age in the opening stanza where he praises the local deities of a Rājārāja-maṅgalam. "Maṅgalam" is a word usually found added to the names of villages presented to Brahmins (members of the priestly caste of India). Thus Rājārāja-maṅgalam was obviously the gift of a king named Rājārāja ("King of Kings") or the gift of his vassal or subjects to commemorate his name, for both practices were fairly common in ancient India. Some South-Indian kings have assumed the title of "King of Kings", and the earliest of them known to history ascended the throne of the Chola empire in 985 A. D. It may therefore be inferred that Nilakanṭha, the author of *Mātaṅga-līlā* was intimately connected with the village of Rājārāja-maṅgalam,



was probably a native of it, and could not have lived before the Xth century of the Christian era.

Again there are remarkable verbal resemblances between the VIth chapter of Mātanga-līlā and a part of the "Kṣatriya-varga" in the vocabulary of Amara, which are very marked in the second half of the 9th stanza of the former, which is the same, word by word, as the second half of the 28th. stanza of the latter. But this is not helpful chronologically since the date of Amara has not yet been settled to the satisfaction of all. Another marked verbal affinity, that between the 13th stanza in the VIII chapter of Mātanga-līlā and the 269th. verse in the III chapter of Mānasollāsa, would prove that if the former is copied from the latter, Nilakaṇṭha could not have composed his work before 1131 A. D. unless of course it be that the authors of Mātanga-līlā and Mānasollāsa had both copied from a third work.

In a small work of which the Sanskrit barely covers forty-one pages (8vo), the author has managed to compress all the information he could give about elephants: the myths manufactured by the ancient Indians to explain the peculiar anatomical structure of the elephant which "may be thought to result from a union of the *'disjecta membra'* of animals most diverse and far separate from each other in the zoological series",<sup>(1)</sup> the points fancied in elephants, size, rate of growth and signs of age of these animals which even in the old days must have cost dearly to buy and maintain, their treatment in health and disease with solicitude due to such valuable property, which, formerly, could often help to win a war—in fact almost all that an intelligent lay man would care to know of the elephant lore of ancient India, and also much practical information which even an elephant-owner of to-day needs to know but cannot obtain from the modern manuals.

Besides this wealth of information the author brings into his work a genuine interest in the elephants and much sympathy which invest portions of his book with a true poetic quality. Critics often fail to praise a writer in Sanskrit for the formal excellence which he might achieve. For, phonetically Sanskrit is perhaps nearer to perfection than any language shaped by the lips of men, and therefore any one writing in Sanskrit, however mediocre one may be, cannot help pre-

(1) J. H. Steel, *The Elephant*, (Indian Veterinary Manuals), p. xvi.

serving the innate beauty of the medium. In the case of Nilakanṭha however it can truly be said that he writes Sanskrit with that ease and verbal charm for which Sanskrit writers of the South have often been praised. But he has the one serious defect of writing ambiguously on a subject which he cannot expect his readers to be acquainted with beforehand. Besides stray verses here and there I have found the sixth chapter as a whole especially trying.

The botanical names of trees given among the foot notes have all been taken from the Sanskrit-English dictionary of Monier-Williams and most of their Siamese equivalents from Phya Vanpreuk Phicharn's *Index to the Latin names in the List of Common Trees, shrubs etc., in Siam*, (Bangkok, 1923).

P. S. SASTRI,

Bangkok,  
February, 1934.

## I. THE ORIGIN OF ELEPHANTS.

1. I adore the resplendent Narasimha<sup>(1)</sup> and Yādava<sup>(1)</sup> of Rājaraṁgālaṁ<sup>(2)</sup> who are the flaming fires of destruction to the serried forest-like ranks of demons.

2. After studying the treatise on elephants composed by the great sage<sup>(3)</sup> I make obeisance to the "Elephant-headed God"<sup>(4)</sup> and write this "Mātaṅga-līlā"<sup>(5)</sup>

3. I shall speak briefly on the origin of the elephants, their auspicious and inauspicious marks, signs of longevity, marks of age, size, value, dispositions, degrees of must, their care, daily and seasonal attention, qualifications required in men who are to be put in charge of elephants, etc.

4. There was once a famous king of the Aṅgas<sup>(6)</sup> named Romapāda who was like Indra<sup>(7)</sup> himself. One day when he was in the town of Campā and was sitting on a bejewelled seat beside the Ganges<sup>(8)</sup> surrounded by his courtiers, he was informed of the total destruction of the crops wrought by wild elephants and he was considering what he should do in the matter.

5. At that time Gautama, Nārada, Bṛghu, Mṛgacarmā, Agniveṇa, Arimeda, Kāpya, Mātaṅgācārya and other great sages called on the king as required by the gods. They were received by the king with all the offerings of hospitality<sup>(9)</sup> and they granted him his request (for help) to capture the wild elephants.

(1) When the righteous are greatly oppressed Viṣṇu, the Second Person of the Hindu Trinity, is believed to descend into this world to destroy the unrighteous. Narasimha ("the Man-Lion") and Yādava (better known by the name of Kṛṣṇa, "the Black") are the incarnations which Viṣṇu assumed in two of His descents in the past.

(2) The name of a locality.

(3) Named Pālakāpya.

(4) Vighneśvara, the "God of Obstacle," to whom Hindus first offer worship when commencing an important undertaking.

(5) Mātaṅga: elephant; "Līlā": sportfulness, grace etc. The meaning implied is that the whole life of the elephants is full of sportiveness and grace.

(6) One of the ancient Indian communities.

(7) King of the minor deities of the Hindu pantheon.

(8) One of the great rivers of India.

(9) The original enumerates seat, flowers, water, etc.



6. The king then sent his men to capture the elephants. In their wanderings through the forest the king's men came across Sāmagāyana and his hermitage. Near the hermitage they saw a herd of elephants with the sage Pālakāpya in the middle. They also noticed that he was absent from the herd during the twilights.

7. All this was reported to the king. Thereupon he went out with his men, and while Pālakāpya was away, he captured the elephants, hurried them to Campā and gave them into the charge of Gautama, Nārada and others. The sages had the elephants firmly secured to posts and were keeping watch.

8. (In the meanwhile) Pālakāpya returned to where the elephants used to be. Not finding them there he searched for them everywhere and finally traced them to Campā. He was grieved at seeing their plight and was dressing their wounds and bruises.

9. Gautama and the rest saw Pālakāpya moving silently amidst the elephants and they questioned him why he dressed the wounds of the elephants and showed them such kindness. But he made no answer.

10. When the king heard of it he came out and received the sage with due honours and asked him of what name and family he was. Receiving no reply the king respectfully questioned him again.

11. Then the sage was pleased to speak to the king as follows: "Formerly the elephants could assume any shape at will and they moved about in the sky as well as on the earth. They once alighted on the branch of a Banyan tree which grew to the north of the Himālayas<sup>(1)</sup> and measured two "yojanas"<sup>(2)</sup> in length and breadth.

12. "Thus they broke the branch. Dirghatapā, a hermit who lived there, got angry at this and pronounced a curse upon the elephants. Consequently they lost their freedom and have got even to carry men. But the (eight) "Elephants of the Directions"<sup>(3)</sup> were not placed under the curse.

13. "The latter went to Brahmā<sup>(4)</sup> and complained that their

(1) The range of mountains forming the northern boundary of India.

(2) Equivalent to eight or nine English miles.

(3) These are the mounts of the deities who guard the eight points of the compass and are named and distributed as follows:—Airāvata (E.), Puṇḍarikā (S. E.), Vāmana (S.), Kumuda (S. W.), Abjaya (W.), Puṣpadanta (N. W.), Sarvabhauma (N.) and Supratika (N. E.).

(4) The First Person of the Hindu Trinity who is the Creator. (The Second and Third Persons are the Preserver and the Destroyer respectively).

descendants which were fated to go down to the earth would suffer from diseases caused by unsuitable food, etc. Brahmā answered them that

14. soon there would be born a kinsman of the elephants, a sage skilled in medicine, and that he would cure them of their ills. Then the "Elephants of the Directions" went back to their respective posts while their descendants came down to the earth in fulfilment of the curse.

15. "Brahmā combined the pleasing qualities of "Yakṣas"<sup>(1)</sup>, "Asuras"<sup>(2)</sup> and gods together and fashioned Rucirā out of that material. As she became very proud she was cursed by Brahmā and was consequently born of Bhārgava (as a mortal). She then came to be called Guṇavati. Once out of curiosity she wandered into the hermitage of Mātanga.

16. "Mātanga thought she was sent by Indra to disturb his austerities and cursed her to become a cow elephant. Soon he found out that she was innocent and assured her that she would be freed from the curse as soon as she should give birth to a son after drinking the seed of Sāmagāyana.

17. "Once a Yakṣa woman embraced Sāmagāyana in his sleep. So he went outside the hermitage and passed urine. His seed also passed out with the urine. The cow elephant drank it, became pregnant and brought forth a son through her mouth.

18. "She gave the sage his son, discarded the form of elephant and went up to heaven. Sāmagāyana performed the "Jātakarma"<sup>(3)</sup> and other rites for the child and named him "Pālakāpya"<sup>(4)</sup> as directed by a heavenly voice.

19. "The child played with elephants and their calves by pools and rivers and streams, roamed with them over pleasant pastures and lived upon fruits and water. Thus he spent a period of 12,000 years and learnt all about the elephants: food that is suitable for them and food that is not, the signs of their health and sickness, and, things that are good for them and things that are not.

(1) Semi-divine beings who attend upon the "God of Wealth" (Kuvera).

(2) The step-brothers and enemies of gods.

(3) "The rite of the new-born".

(4) See XII, 30, for the meaning of this name.

20. "O King of Angas! I am that Pālakāpya, the son of Sāmagāyana". The king was astonished by this speech and asked for more information. So the sage spoke again on the origin of the elephants, their marks, their treatment, etc., and said:—

21. "The creation of the elephants was a pious act undertaken for the good of religious rites, the gods, and especially, kings. Therefore the elephants should be well cared for.

22. The "Brahmarṣis"<sup>(1)</sup> showed to Brahmā the shining egg from which the sun was produced. He lovingly took the two pieces of the egg in his hands and chanted seven "Sāma"<sup>(2)</sup> hymns over them. There upon Airāvata<sup>(3)</sup> came into being and so did the other (seven)<sup>(4)</sup> later on, each after a separate recital.

23. The eight bull elephants were born thus from the piece of egg-shell held in the right hand and their mates from the piece held in the left. These elephants had many calves and so too did their calves have calves in due course. They all roamed freely over the earth and in the other worlds.

24. In the war between gods and demons the elephants ridden by Indra, Agni,<sup>(5)</sup> and others, took fright and fled to Brahmā. He then created the genius of must, and possessed by that genius the elephants routed the army of demons.

25. The sage, Durvāsā, gave a garland to Indra. (Indra gave it to Airāvata and,) Airāvata trampled upon it. When Durvāsā saw all that he pronounced a curse. Consequently all the possessions of Indra disappeared, and later on when the "Sea of Milk"<sup>(6)</sup> was churned for regaining them, Airāvata also came out. So it is said to have been born of that sea.

26. Elephants of the "Bhadra" class were born during the

(1) "Rṣis" or inspired sages of the Brahmin caste.

(2) A portion of the inspired books of the Hindus collectively called the "Veda".

(3) See page 66 note 3.

(4) See page 66 note 3.

(5) The God of Fire.

(6) According to Hindu cosmology the earth consists of seven continents, each surrounded by a sea of a different kind, and of these the continent called *Çaka-dvīpa* has a sea of milk around it.



"Kṛta" age<sup>(1)</sup>, the "Manda" class during the "Tretā", the "Mrga" class during the "Dvāpara" and the "Mixed" class during the "Kali".

27. The auspicious "Bhadra" was born during the spring of the first age and lived upon the mountains. It had a tall well proportioned body and was rosy in colour. Its eyes and tusks were tawny, its cry was like thunder and it was beloved of the cows. Its humours were well balanced and it had "correct sensitiveness".<sup>(2)</sup>

28. The "Manda" was born in the winter of the "Tretā" age and lived both on land and in water. It had bulky limbs, short barrel, short ears, yellow eyes and long curved tusks, and was black in colour. It was phlegmatic, sluggish and lascivious, and had "deep-seated sensitiveness".<sup>(3)</sup>

29. The "Mrga" was born in the rainy season of the "Dvāpara" age and lived in the rivers. It had less of length and circumference (than the other two classes of elephants), was lean all over, had large eyes and short tail, and was dusty in colour. It was bilious, voracious, short tempered, fickle, and fierce, and had "superior sensitiveness".<sup>(4)</sup>

30. By the intermingling of "Manda" and others the "mixed" breed of elephants was produced. They are numerous in the "Kali" age.

31. The elephant is called "Nāga"<sup>(5)</sup> because it goes everywhere, "Gaja" because it triumphs and because it roars, "Hasti" because of its origin from the hand of Brahmā, "Vāraṇa" because it wards off the army of the enemy, "Mātaṅga" because it is smeared with road dust, "Kuṇjara" because it loosens the earth with its tread, "Padmī" because it is fond of the lotus, and "Dvīpa" because it drinks with both its trunk<sup>(6)</sup> and mouth.

(1) "Kṛta", "Tretā", "Dvāpara" and "Kali" form a set of four ages of this world which is said to endure for two thousands of such sets before each act of its dissolution and re-creation. They have been happily named the golden age, the silver age, the brass age and the iron age according to the traditional estimate of the righteousness and worth of human beings in each respective age.

(2) See VIII, 22.

(3) See VIII, 21.

(4) See VIII, 20.

(5) Most of these "derivations" are fanciful.

(6) Here and elsewhere in this book "trunk" is used in the sense of proboscis.

32. The elephant is named "Eight-hitter" because it hits with the trunk, the tail, the two tusks and the four feet.

33. It is called "Ibha" because it is afraid of all other animals although it is bigger than any, and because it is lovable.

34. It is called "Kārī" and "Dantī" because it is distinguished by its trunk and tusks; and it is called "Sindhura" because it sports in the rivers. So much on derivation.

35. The elephant has its tongue turned inwards and has great bodily heat owing to the curse of Agni. Its testicles disappeared and it became fond of sporting with dust, water, and mire, because of the curse (*sic*) of Brahmā. Because of the curse of Dīrghatapā it carries men and serves to decoy the wild elephants. It has lost its divinity and has become fond of its own urine and ordure on account of the curse of Bhṛgu and it sweats inside its body owing to the curse of Varuṇa<sup>(1)</sup>.

36. Once Agni became angry with the gods because they were not giving him his share of the offerings and he disappeared. The elephants belonging to the "Lokapālas"<sup>(2)</sup> were sent in search of him. They went to his hermitage and molested his consort. Agni heard her cries but was not able to burn the elephants (since they were protected by the gods). So he cursed them saying:—

37. "Good, you have the insolence to tell me that what all you did you did by the order of Brahmā. Let your tongues remain turned inwards<sup>(3)</sup> and let the inside of your bodies burn always with heat." But Brahmā took pity on them and gave them the amenities of dust,<sup>(4)</sup> water and mire.

38. Once the elephants went to the hermitage of Bhṛgu, uprooted the trees that grew in the grounds and voided their dung and urine in the consecrated fires. Bhṛgu grew angry and cursed them to have the habit of smelling their own urine and dung and making (stupid) movements with their jaws.

(1) The God of the Sea and the Waters and Guardian of the West.

(2) The guardian deities who preside over the eight directions, namely, Indra (E), Agni (S. E.), Yama (S.), Nirṛti (S. W.), Varuṇa (W.), Vāyu (N. W.), Kuvera (N.), and Īcāna (N. E.).

(3) "The tip (of the tongue) lies in the groove formed by the lower lip and the organ is possessed of more freedom posteriorly than anteriorly" (Evans, Lt. Col. G. H., *Elephants and their diseases*, p. 84).

(4) The elephants collect dust and throw it on their own heads and backs as a protection against the sun (see Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

39. During the war between gods and demons, Varuṇa noticed that the soldiers of the divine army were running away from the fight as they could not stand the sweat of the elephants and so he made them sweat inwards.<sup>(1)</sup> Therefore the elephants throw out drops of perspiration through their trunks. Their testicles disappeared<sup>(2)</sup> in accordance with the pronouncement of Brahmā so that they may move about fastly and freely in war, etc.

40. Spring intoxicates all creatures and especially the elephants. Elephants born during the spring are known as "Gandha-dvipas."<sup>(3)</sup> The smell of their sweat, dung, urine, and ichor induce must in all other elephants. These "Gandha-dvipas" bring victory to the king (who owns them).

## II. GOOD POINTS.

1. An elephant whose two cephalic knobs, two tusks, neck<sup>(4)</sup>, and back-bone rise up prominently, is a royal mount.

2. An elephant which is red in seven places, namely, the two tips of the trunk, the male organ, tongue, lip, vent, and palate, is an elephant of the highest class.

3, 4. Worthy of a king is that elephant which has twenty nails on its feet, two massive knobs on the head, a pair of pinkish ears that are not torn at the edges, well formed flanks, two honey-coloured tusks of which the one on the right side curves upwards, a full stomach, and long, straight, tapering, fine-looking tail and trunk; which is dark like the (unripe) araca nut, black, or of the tint of sword steel, and ruddy with "bindu" dots<sup>(5)</sup> that are massed in the forms of "Śrīvatsa",<sup>(6)</sup> discus<sup>(7)</sup>, conch-shell and lotus flowers; the posterior part<sup>(8)</sup> of whose body rises higher from the shoulders; whose stomach is firm; whose "piṇḍika"<sup>(9)</sup> is langing; and which

(1) "In the elephant the secretion of sweat by the skin is slight", (Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 74).

(2) "They are suspended freely in the abdomen and are situated below the posterior extremities of the kidneys" (Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 90).

(3) "Odoriferous-elephants".

(4) "Āsana": Seat, is the place where the driver sits.

(5) Light coloured spots and blotches on head, trunk, etc., which are, in health, pinkish in colour.

(6) A mole on the breast of Viṣṇu the Second Person of the Hindu Trinity.

(7) "Cakra": wheel, a weapon of offence.

(8) "Jaghana".

(9) "The penis" according to Monier-Williams.



has tall large and very fleshy "kalā",<sup>(1)</sup>

5. The elephants which have massive, long, and rounded necks, are voiced like rain-clouds, have sparrow, or honey, coloured eyes, and have three creases at the shoulder and trunk<sup>(2)</sup> are auspicious.

6. Elephants which have bright eyes, ruddy tips of the trunk, and male organ of the colour of young mango leaves, which are beautiful like the red lotus flower and are sweet voiced, bring good luck to the king (who owns them).

7. Elephants which have the right tusk bent upwards at the tip, which are beautiful with "bindu" dots on their big trunks and faces, whose joints are hidden (under flesh) and whose hind limbs are firm, are fit to be ridden by the king.

8,9. Fit for the king, again, are the elephants whose back-bones are hidden (under flesh) and rise up like a bow, whose hairy cephalic knobs are firm like the swelling breasts of young women, which have large ears, jaws, navels, fore-heads, and genitals, copper-coloured lips, palate and tusks, regular, dense and red "bindu" dots, eighteen or twenty nails, are endowed with strength, vigour, and courage, and smell sweet.

10. In war let the king use such elephants as are valorous, active, skilled in the eight ways of hitting<sup>(3)</sup>, courageous, steady, fast, disposed to kill, and endowed with good points, and not them that are broken down, thirsty, or very young.

11. Soldiers can only fight and horses can only carry (the fighting men). But the elephants of the king can fight as well as carry.

12. Gait like the gait of deer, lion, parrot, monkey, wrestler, swan, "Kādambaka"-swan, Gandharva<sup>(4)</sup>, Kinnara<sup>(5)</sup>, Garuda<sup>(6)</sup>, bear, tiger, "Çarabha"<sup>(7)</sup>, snake, or "Cakravāka" bird<sup>(8)</sup> is auspicious,

(1) The original reads "Kalā" which, as found explained in medical books like the "Bhāvaprakāṣa", does not seem to suit the context. Therefore it is probably the same word as "Kāla" in VI, 11, here altered to suit the metre. See page 80, note 5.

(2) "Karu", (lit. hand), may also be translated as "fore-leg."

(3) See I, 32.

(4) The musicians of the gods.

(5) Semi-divine beings with human bodies and heads of horses.

(6) Semi-divine beings who are partly men and partly vultures in form.

(7) Mythical eight-legged animals often represented as lions, with heads of elephants.

(8) *Anas casarca*.

13. The cry produced at the root of the tongue is called "Phenāyita" ("foaming"), that produced with the lips and the palate is "Potāyita" ("calf-like"), that produced at the throat is "Garjita" ("roar") and that produced with trunk and cheek is "Hasita" ("laughter"). All these are auspicious. But the cry which is due to hunger, thirst, or fear is inauspicious.

14. Of the cries of the elephants only six are considered auspicious, namely, those which are deep, soft, joyous, healthy, amorous, and pleasant.

15. An elephant which produces the sound of "Mrdaṅga"<sup>(1)</sup> with its trunk, of "Dundubhi"<sup>(1)</sup> with its ears, and of clouds with its mouth is worthy of honour.

16. The elephants whose cries resemble those of swans, cranes, pea-fowl, cuckoos, tigers, lions, or bulls are also worthy of honour; but not those whose cries are like those of camels, crows, hogs, or monkeys.

17. Even elephants that are endowed with all the good points bring evil if they should have more than the usual number of nails or less; and conversely, even elephants which have no good points are auspicious if they only have the normal number of nails.

### III. BAD POINTS.

1. An elephant which has more nails (than what is usual) or less, visible testicles, short trunk tips, trunk tips that hang down loosely, short stature, belly shaped like that of a frog, or dark brown palate; or which is bulky, thin like a leech, unsymmetrical at the flanks, rough (to the touch), or devoid of must, is not worthy of consideration.

2. An elephant whose tusks are fissured, knotted, very rough, variegated, or very stout, which has thinnish, unequal, and whitish "bindu" dots, short stature, veins showing all over the body, thin penis, bent, stout, bruised, rough, and short tail, or which is slight at the root of the tail, "Kāla",<sup>(2)</sup> and back, is unacceptable.

3. The king who owns an elephant which has visible testicles will be assassinated by his son or friend.

4. The elephant which has not got the right ear brings ruin to

(1) Different kinds of drums.

(2) See page 80, note 5.

all the four castes<sup>(1)</sup> and that which has not got the left brings death to artists and artisans or makes the king ill.

5. An elephant which has got white spots on the skin, tusks, palate, nails, etc., should either be abandoned altogether or have the affected part cauterised and scraped and (the wound) dressed, and propitiatory rites should be performed for averting the evil (consequent upon the possession of the animal).

6. An elephant which roams about at night, and during the day makes soft cries, lashes its tail and draws its body up in its longing to soar up with the birds, and is uncontrollable, is a "Vyāla"<sup>(2)</sup> elephant. It is unacceptable even if it should have all the good points.

7. If a cow that is with calf or is accompanied by its calf is caught, it will cause destruction to the vehicles and the treasury. It must be led back to its forest or to a forest that is inhabited by hermits, and worship shall be offered to the elephants and deities of the directions.<sup>(3)</sup>

#### IV. SIGNS OF LONGEVITY.

1. Elephants which have shining tusks, nails, hair, and eyes, long ears, tails and back-bones, well-developed fore-limbs, and cephalic knobs of equal size, will live long.

2. Elephants whose bodies are red in seven places<sup>(4)</sup> and rise up prominently at six<sup>(5)</sup>, and elephants which are courageous and sweet-smelling, look like dark clouds, are vociferous, and have two or three hairs from each follicle, will also live long.

3. The twelve items, namely, the barrel, head, eyes, face, ears, neck, chest, tusks, trunk, disposition, gloss, and hind limbs, represent each a period of ten years in the life of an elephant.

4. Brhaspati<sup>(6)</sup> has said that the number of items that are fully developed in an elephant is equal to the number of decades which that elephant will live.

5. I<sup>(7)</sup> am however of opinion that an elephant will live long even

(1) The priests, warriors, agriculturists, and serfs.

(2) Wicked; vicious elephant; tiger, etc.

(3) See page 66, note 3 and page 70, note 2.

(4) See II, 2.

(5) See II, 1.

(6) The reference is to a treatise on elephants attributed to Brhaspati the preceptor of the gods, but, it seems, not extant.

(7) "I" here refers to "Pālakāpya".



if it has only the first three, the fifth, seventh, and eighth of these items well developed.

6. The fourth, the eighth, and the twelfth decades form the ultimate limits of the lives of the Mrga, Manda, and Bhadra classes of elephants respectively.

## V. THE SIGNS OF AGE.

1. An elephant is considered young from the twelfth year of its life, middle-aged from the twenty fourth, and old from the sixtieth.

2. It is called "Bāla" during the first year. It is then soft, copper-coloured, soft-haired, and sleepy, has a small sprout of a trunk and an undefined shape, and is fond of mother's milk.

3. It is called "Puechaka" during the second year. Then its nails are a little firmer than before, and its tongue, lips, etc. are very red. It drinks very little milk but tries to eat a bit of grass, creepers, etc. The hidden parts of its body are red. It gambols with joy. It has whitish and partly closed eyes that gaze down, and it is charming to the eye.

4. It is called "Upasarjā" during the third year. It has well-defined nails, middle of the head<sup>(1)</sup>, joints, ears, and fleshy covering (of the roots) of the tusks<sup>(2)</sup>. It has "bindu" dots on the lobes of the ears. It is hairy at the ears and the head. It carries its head high. Its teeth are firmer<sup>(3)</sup> and it eats grass.

5. It is called "Barbara" during the fourth year. It is red at the sides of the base of the frontals<sup>(4)</sup>, the portion of the body below the back and the sides<sup>(5)</sup>. It dislikes (mother's) milk and is fond of grass. The portions of its body between the shoulders<sup>(6)</sup> and

(1) "Vidu". See VI, 7.

(2) "Danta-praveṣṭa".

(3) In the whole of this chapter there is much confusion between "the teeth" and "the tusks" and therefore the use of one expression or the other in the translation is only tentative. Again, the statements that the teeth of the elephant are shaky or firm at this age or that seems to be incorrect as, according to most of the modern writers on the subject, the teeth of the elephant do not fall out but are gradually replaced by a new set when the old is worn out. A difference of opinion on this point is quoted in note 2, page 78, at the end of this chapter.

(4) "Vilāga". See VI, 8.

(5) "Niṣkoṣa". See VI, 12.

(6) "Proha". See VI, 10.

above the waist<sup>(1)</sup> become firmer. It grows bigger, its palate becomes black at the edges and its tusks<sup>(2)</sup> begin to grow.

6. It is called "Kalabha" when it is five years old. It nibbles the bark of trees, has scanty hair, is fond of muddy water and dust, has brief erections,<sup>(3)</sup> knows anger, and recognises pain and pleasure. It also recognises the voice and signals of the driver and shows "superior sensitiveness".<sup>(4)</sup> Its forehead<sup>(5)</sup> and tusks are shiny.

7. It is called "Naukārika" when it is six years old. It is beautiful with thick "bindu" dots on the flaps of the ears, temples, corners of the mouth<sup>(6)</sup> and of the eyes, "Vilaga"<sup>(7)</sup> and "Pratimāna",<sup>(8)</sup> There are no creases upon its body.

8. It is called "Ciṇu" when seven years old. Its nails, "Proha",<sup>(9)</sup> "Sandāna",<sup>(10)</sup> "Cikkā",<sup>(11)</sup> "Pali",<sup>(12)</sup> trunk, and head are massive. It gnaws its teeth. It has itching. Its feet, speed, and "Avaskāra"<sup>(13)</sup> are conspicuous, and the tips of its trunk are beautiful.<sup>(14)</sup>

9. It is called "Majjana" when it is eight years old. The roots of its nails become massive, its wounds heal quickly, its teeth are shaky, and it feeds on tender grass. It is always restless, rubs its body (against rocks or trees to allay itching), has longer erections, and is soft in striking.

10. It is called "Dantārūpa" when nine years old. It has bright eyes. It mounts the cows but has no orgasm. It has a pleasing

(1) "Sandāna", See VI, 11.

(2) "Daṇṭa", literally "teeth".

(3) "Hṛṣyati".

(4) See VIII, 20.

(5) "Avagraha" See VI, 7.

(6) "Śyṅka".

(7) See VI, 8.

(8) See VI, 8.

(9) See VI, 10.

(10) See VI, 11.

(11) See VI, 11.

(12) See VI, 10.

(13) See VI, 10.

(14) "Snigdha" may also be translated as "viscous", "smooth", "unctuous" or "glossy".

colour, long tusks and expansive chest. The vulnerable parts and the joints of its body become strong, and it hits hard.

11. It is called "Vikka" when ten years old, and it is the pride of the herd. It is steady in coitus and has orgasms. Its teeth (or tusks) are firm, it has great strength and energy and it enjoys itself.

12. It is called "Pota" when it is twenty years old. It has full rumps and "Avaskāra"<sup>(1)</sup> and round ears and looks handsome with its well-formed limbs. It has creases at the "Proha"<sup>(2)</sup> etc and has yellowish tusks. It is energetic, passionate, strong, conquering, and capable of fecundation. It is subject to troubles (from rival bulls) and keeps to places which are difficult to reach.

13. It is called "Javana" when it is in its third decade. It has well proportioned limbs and begins to smell of ichor. It has all the characteristics (of the genus fully developed). It is steady in fight, has glossy hair and sleepy eyes, noticeably grows bigger, is handsome, intelligent, choleric and murderous. Its humours are balanced.

14. It is called "Vāraṇa-Yuvā" when it is in its fourth decade. It has permanent creases at the "Sandāna"<sup>(3)</sup>, etc. It becomes subject to must. It sleeps very little out of fear of rivals. Roaring and with hair standing on the ends it rushes to battle even with fire mistaking the smoke for a rival elephant.

15. It is called "Yaudha" when it is in its fifth decade. The creases of its skin at the "Sandāna",<sup>(3)</sup> ears, temples and knees are unctuous with ichor. It becomes excited without cause (i. e. when there is no cow nearby) and it attains to its inborn pre-eminence.

16. When an elephant has reached its sixtieth year<sup>(4)</sup> the folds of its skin become cracked, and its organs of sense and digestive powers become a little impaired. It has hair on the fleshy covering of the root of the tusks<sup>(5)</sup>, lips, ears, etc. and the roots of its tusks are visible.

(1) See VI, 10.

(2) See VI, 10.

(3) See chapter VI, verse 11.

(4) It is interesting to note that in Buddhist literature, the Buddha in the height of his greatness is compared to an elephant which is sixty years old thus implying that an elephant at that age does not yet begin to deteriorate.

(5) "Vestā".



17. An elephant in its seventh decade has weak digestion. It has less of bile<sup>(1)</sup> and more of wind<sup>(1)</sup> and too much of phlegm<sup>(1)</sup>. Its limbs are stiff and its skin is rough and colourless.

18. When it is in its eighth decade its eyes are watery, mucus flows out of its temples and its skin is discoloured and very rough. It keeps outside the herd for fear (of the younger bulls). It is devoid of sexual appetite and is impotent. Its tusks (or teeth) stop to grow and its wounds do not heal quickly. It keeps its eyes closed. At last even its skin and hair perish.

19. "Purāṇa", i.e. an elephant in its ninth decade, has a drooping neck and shaky teeth. Its limbs are loose and move slowly, its teeth fall out and it feeds on tender grass. It feels no pride and nourishes no enmity. Its rough skin creases all over. It sleeps much and walks behind the herd.

20. An elephant in its tenth decade is called "Vṛddha". Its ears, shoulders, tail and trunk hang loosely; its hair perishes, its teeth are shaky, its flesh and strength fade away, its feet slip, it eats little, its limbs are parched up, its eyes are filmy, its blood-vessels show out, it voids dung and urine with great difficulty, its nails are damaged by worms and it is always thirsty.

21. When it is a hundred and ten years old the elephant lays itself down in the shade of trees but does not take to water. Its ordure is coated with mucus. It passes very little urine. It has no teeth<sup>(2)</sup> and it subsists on soft fodder. It is always sickly.

22. Its trunk, ears and tail hang loosely. Its limbs are stiff and it gropes its way about. It falls "asleep"<sup>(3)</sup> when it has reached (the end of) the twelfth decade.

(1) A study of the ancient treatise on medicine attributed to Cūṣrta leads one to conclude that "bile" "wind" and "phlegm" mean disorders of the blood and the apparatus for the production of animal heat, disorders of the nerves, and disorders of the glandular bodies respectively. The identification of "wind" with "disorders of the nerves" is the most easily apparent since the diseases attributed to "wind" by Cūṣrta are all diseases of the nerves.

(2) "Vāg-viṣāṇa" literally "the horns of the mouth" i.e. the tusks. The translation above is hazarded on the ground that while no modern writer clearly says that the tusks fall off or are worn out when the animal gets old, Gilchrist, (as quoted in *The Elephant* by J. H. Steel, p. xxix), asserts that when the elephant is about eighty years of age its "eye teeth" drop out, and in extreme old age the molar teeth are worn level with the gum.

(3) i. e. dies.

23. Thus after living a hundred and twenty years and doing many deeds, the elephant goes to heaven.

## VI. SIZE.

1. An elephant is measured from the eyes to the root of the tail for length, from the nails to the shoulders for height, and near the arm-pits<sup>(1)</sup> for circumference.

2. At birth an elephant of the "Mrga" class measures a cubit and a half long, one cubit high, and two cubits around. These measurements increase at the rate of five "aṅgulas"<sup>(2)</sup> a year up to the tenth year of its life.

3. When full-grown it is five cubits high, seven long and eight around. The "Manda" and "Bhadra" elephants attain to these dimensions in the tenth and the thirteenth years of their lives respectively.<sup>(3)</sup>

4. First, second, and third class of cows measure six, five, and four (cubits) high; eight, seven, and six long; and nine, eight, and seven around.

5. Elephants which are very stout or very lean or have defective limbs are not to be measured.

6. It is desirable to measure an elephant which has well-proportioned limbs, and especially one which has auspicious marks.

7. KUMBHAS are the two protuberances on the head and VIDU is the place between them. AVAGRAHA is the place below "Vidu" and VAHITTHAS are the bases of the "Kumbhas."

8. PRATIMĀNAS are below the "Vahitthas". The place between the "Pratimānas" is called VĀYU-KUMBHA. The two sides of the "Vahitthas" are called VILĀGAS.

9. GANDŪSA is the part above PUSKARA. ĪSIRĀ is the frame of the eye, and NIRYĀNA is its outer corner. CULIKĀ is the root of the ear.

(1) "Kakṣyā-sthāna".

(2) "Aṅgula"—a finger's breadth; 12 "aṅgulas" make a "vitasti" (span) and 24 make a "hasta" (cubit).

(3) The original is not clear. Besides, it incorrectly says the dimensions of the full-grown "Mrga" are five *spans* ("vitasti") in height, seven in length, and eight in circumference. The translation above is based on "Hastyaśruti" (IV, ii, 16-17) which the author of the original professes to have summarised.

10. PICCHŪṢA is the flap of the ear. PROHA is the space between the shoulders. AVASKĀRA is the place above the trunk. PALI is the part above "Avaskāra".

11. NGALA-STHĀNA<sup>(1)</sup> is the middle of the body and CIKKĀ is the place beyond it. SANDĀNA<sup>(2)</sup> is the part above<sup>(3)</sup> the rumps<sup>(4)</sup> and KĀLA<sup>(5)</sup> is the part below.

12. The two ĀPARAS are the parts below the sides<sup>(6)</sup>. NIṢEOṢA<sup>(7)</sup> is the part below the sides and the back. Behind them is the KUKSI<sup>(8)</sup>.....<sup>(9)</sup>

13. PECAKA is the part near the root of the tail. ANTAR-MANI is situated in the chest at the joint of the neck.

#### VII. VALUE.

1. An outsider cannot assert that an elephant is worth only so much. For, the valuation which is acceptable to both buyer and seller is the best, what is acceptable to one of them alone is middling, and what is acceptable to neither is worthless. Therefore, after taking all this into consideration, the price of elephants should be carefully determined by a number of experienced men.

2. One may pay the full price (asked) for a first class elephant which has all the good points, and, one half for an elephant which has a blind eye, a maimed leg, or a broken tusk, or is deaf or sickly, one third for an elephant which lacks half of its tail, ear, etc., and one fourth for an elephant which has lost both its tusks etc., if (the last three) should otherwise be very good animals.

(1) Lit. "near (or below) the neck" i. e. the part between the forelegs and the shoulders?

(2) Obviously the hip-joint. But Monier-Williams translates "Sandāna" as the part under the knee where the fetter is fastened.

(3) "ārdhvam".

(4) "jaghana".

(5) Since the author of the original uses Dravidian words and turns of expression in some places, it is probable that the word "Kāla" here is the Sanskritised form of the Dravidian "Kal", a leg.

(6) "pakṣa".

(7) Lit. bulge or protuberance.

(8) Stomach.

(9) Here the text is corrupt and untranslatable.



3. The elephant whose left tusk rises higher than the right is called "Apākila". It loses an eighth of its value (on account of this defect). A cow fetches only two thirds the price (of a tusker).

### VIII. DISPOSITIONS.

1. One should determine whether an elephant partakes of the nature of a god, demon, Gandharva<sup>(1)</sup>, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa<sup>(1)</sup>, man, ghost, or snake, by observing the respective characteristics.

2. An elephant which partakes of the nature of a god is lovely, smells like water-lily, sandal wood, "Sapta-parṇa"<sup>(2)</sup>, citron, lotus, or "Caturāṅgula"<sup>(3)</sup>, looks happy, is sportful like a calf, and has the voice of a cuckoo.

3. An elephant which partakes of the nature of a demon is vicious, inordinately fond of fighting, mean, merciless, and murderous, and smells like "Sindhuvāra"<sup>(4)</sup>, aloe wood, or fish.

4. An elephant which partakes of the nature of a Gandharva smells like "Atimukta"<sup>(5)</sup>, "Yātika"<sup>(5)</sup>, lotus, "Punnāga"<sup>(6)</sup> or yellow sandal wood, is fond of music, has a graceful gait, beautiful tusks, eyes, cephalic knobs, trunk and trunk-tips, and has very few "bindu" dots.

5. An elephant which partakes of the nature of a Yakṣa is clean, unforgiving, pleasing to the eye, and vigorous, and has uplifted ears.

6. An elephant which partakes of the nature of a malevolent Rākṣasa smells foul like a crow, monkey, ass, camel, cat, urine, or faeces, kills other elephants, is ferocious at night, is fond of sour food, flesh and blood, is disobedient and ungrateful.

7. An elephant which partakes of the nature of a ghost is fond

(1) "Gandharvas" and "Rākṣasas" are semi-divine beings of Hindu mythology. The former are the heavenly musicians and the latter are a kind of ogres.

(2) *Alstonia scholaris* (अमृतमृग. अ.)

(3) *Cathartocarpus fistula*.

(4) *Vitex negundo*.

(5) Two kinds of jessamine.

(6) *Rottleria tinctoria* or *Calophyllum inophyllum* (रुद्रग).

of deserted places, smells like a corpse or sheep, is mad<sup>(1)</sup> at night, has a loud voice, and is very choleric on the "Parva"<sup>(2)</sup> days.

8. An elephant which partakes of the nature of a snake<sup>(3)</sup>, smells like fish, "Çaivala"<sup>(4)</sup>, "Phañirjaka"<sup>(5)</sup>, mire, toddy, or meat, is afraid of thunder, is ferocious at night and is fond of water and dust (more than other elephants).

9. A "Brahmin"<sup>(6)</sup> elephant is clean, smells like honey, milk, "Paramāma"<sup>(7)</sup>, melted butter, or mango blossoms, is friendly and well disposed towards other elephants, is calm, is fond of the bath, and has a kindly disposition.

10. A "Kṣatriya"<sup>(8)</sup> elephant smells like sandal wood, melted butter, yellow orpiment, red arsenic, or "Guggulu"<sup>(9)</sup> is skilful in the use of weapons, is fearless in war and valiant in the midst of a rain of missiles.

11. A "Vaiçya"<sup>(10)</sup> elephant smells at its mouth like "Bandhūka",<sup>(11)</sup> rice, "Ketaka",<sup>(12)</sup> or "Mālati",<sup>(13)</sup> has endurance, feeds on flesh, is fond of being cajoled, and its anger is easily pacified.

12. A "Çūdra"<sup>(14)</sup> elephant is satisfied with the remnants of others' food, is timid, smells like oysters, tamarind, hide or bones, is

(1) "Bhrāntaḥ". The translation above is based on the sense in which it is used in Tamil and Malayalam languages of South India.

(2) The eighth and the fourteenth days of the fortnight together with the new and the full-moon days.

(3) "Bhujanga".

(4) *Blyxa octandra*.

(5) A species of basil.

(6) See note 10, below.

(7) A kind of porridge made of rice, milk and sugar.

(8) See note 10, below.

(9) Bdellium or the exudation of *Amyris agallochum* (a fragrant gum resin used as a perfume and medicament).

(10) The words "Brahmin", "Kṣatriya", "Vaiçya", and "Çūdra" occurring in verses 9-12 refer, respectively, to the priestly, warrior, cultivator, and servile castes into which the Hindu society is divided.

(11) *Pentapetes phoenicia* (பெட்டி) or *Terminalia tomentosa* (தெய்வக்காய்).

(12) *Pandanus odoratissimus* (நீலஞ்செடி).

(13) A kind of jessamine (*Jasminum grandiflorum*).

(14) See note 10 above.

irascible, mean, and ungrateful.

13. A Serpent<sup>(1)</sup> elephant is treacherous and cruel, walks crookedly, is proud, and eats very little.

14. The elephants which partake of the nature of gods, Kṣatriyas, Gandharvas, and Brahmins are "Satvic",<sup>(2)</sup> those which partake of the nature of Vaiçyas and Çūdras are "Rajasic", and the rest are "Tamasic".

15. The colours of the elephants which are four, namely, green, yellow, black, and white, resembling the colour of the pea-cock's tail, gold, rain-cloud and lightning, have been produced by (a predominance in their constitution of) a mixture of blood and bile, of blood and phlegm, of bile alone, and, of blood alone respectively. Only elephants of black colour are found on the earth, and the rest are in heaven.

16. The lustre<sup>(3)</sup> of the elephant is of five kinds and these obscure (the real colour of the) elephant as the clouds obscure the sun. The first, the colour of the cloud, originated from the earth-element and the second, the colour of gold, from the fire-element. These three (*sic*) lustres are most acceptable and the rest are graceless and censurable.

17. The Gandharva, Nāga, Yakṣa, and Kṣatriya elephants are warlike and are to be used in war, the god and Brahmin elephants in religious ceremonies, the Vaiçya elephants in all kinds of work, and the rest in war, killing, carrying goods, executing thieves, destroying tigers, etc.

18. The sensitiveness of elephants is of seven kinds, namely, 1. "acute", 2. "superior",<sup>(4)</sup> 3. "deep-seated", 4. "correct", 5. "perverse", 6. "gross", and 7. "mature".

19. An elephant which has "acute" sensitiveness shrinks from whip,<sup>(5)</sup> goad, and stick, and is pained extremely by their touch.

(1) "Sarpa".

(2) The qualities of "Satva" (light), "Rajas" (activity), and "Tamas" (darkness) are believed to enter into the composition of all living creatures, in various proportions, and to determine the nature of those creatures as "Satvic", "Rajasic" or "Tamasic" according to the predominance of one or another of those qualities.

(3) "Chāyā". The whole of this verse is corrupt and difficult to understand.

(4) "Superior" as opposed to "deep-seated".

(5) "Prājana" can also mean goad.



20. An elephant which has "superior" sensitiveness feels the sharpness of the goad even when it merely touches the skin or even the hair.

21. An elephant which has "deep-seated" sensitiveness does not feel the goad even when it has pierced the skin and digs into the flesh and the blood is flowing.

22. An elephant which has "correct" sensitiveness understands (the signals for) stopping and going and is neither terror-struck nor confounded (when the goad is used to convey the signals).

23. An elephant which has "perverse" sensitiveness backs when it is urged forward, stops when caught (by the lead and led) and acts contrary to the signals.

24. An elephant which has "gross" sensitiveness is extremely perverse: it acts contrary to the signals all unconsciously.

25. An elephant which has "mature" sensitiveness is refined in every way, faultless, and best.

#### IX. MUST.

1. The elephants become happy by enjoying sweet things: food, water, tender grass and fodder, drinks of various kinds, fragrant unguents, kind words, access to dust and water, and freedom of movement.

2. When the elephant is happy the constituents<sup>(1)</sup> of its body increase. Therefore the bull should be allowed to roam with the cow and freely sport in water.

3. The humours of the elephant become harmonised while it sports in the tank full of lotuses, eating the lotus stalks and filling the trunk with the fragrant water, and as it moves about freely and eats what it likes.

4. The elephant gets in rut owing to excess of happiness and it ceases to be in rut when devoid of happiness.

5. The ichor flows out through many ways: eyes, palate, temples, ears, navel, the sexual organs, trunk, breasts, and hair.

6. Excitement, alertness, pride, (distinctive) gait and smell, anger, strength and courage are the eight characteristics of an elephant in rut.

(1) "Dhātu". These are seven, namely, "Rasa" (chyle, lymph?), blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and semen.

7. When of old Brahmā created passion, He placed a half of it in the elephant and the other half in the rest of the creation. So, under influence of passion, the elephants get enraged and fight when offended.

8. At the sight of this passion the trees put on their vernal growth and the other living things become exhilarated by the mere remembrance of their ardour.

9. If an elephant should get in rut in a kingdom or city the land will be fruitful. If the ichor should flow first from the right temple the king will be victorious, and if from the left, the driver; should it flow first from the testicles there will be good rainfall, and should the ichor flow all at once from the temples as well as the testicles the king will achieve glory.

10. Should an elephant lift its head up, trample down (impediments like) ant hills, tree-stumps and bushes and walk up to its companion with joy in its eyes, or should it often trumpet and spray (its saliva) when being harnessed, it is then getting in rut and will bring victory.

11, 12. Then "Kaṭapūrṇa"<sup>(1)</sup>, (the elephant in the first degree of must) envelopes its right tusk (in the coils of its trunk) and walks weakly with unsteady steps. Again, it plants its trunk upon the ground and sighs, and closing its eyes, becomes dreamy and inactive. It eats voraciously and urinates often. Its skin is blue like the clouds, its nails, tusks and eyes are of the colour of honey, the corners of its eyes are red and its "bindu" spots look like the filaments of the lotus. It hates other elephants when they throw dust and water at it in play.

13. "Ārdra-Kapolita"<sup>(2)</sup>, (the elephant in the second degree of must), bathes its cheeks with a copious flow of ichor. It thunders like the cloud of the day of dissolution of the world, and rushes to kill even them that are far away.

14. "Anibandha"<sup>(3)</sup>, (the elephant in the third degree of must), looks around constantly and sheds ichor from its male organ drop by drop. Then, desiring to get away, it roars and hates the tethering post.

(1) "Full-temples".

(2) "Wet-cheeks".

(3) "Tetherless".

15. When it has reached the state of "Gandha-cara"<sup>(1)</sup> (the fourth degree of must,) it emits an odour like that of "Saptacchada"<sup>(2)</sup> or lotus, sheds ichor of vermillion<sup>(3)</sup> colour, is always angry, and stays apart from elephants, chariots, and horses.

16. When it has reached the state of "Krodhani"<sup>(4)</sup> (the fifth degree of must,) it refuses food and drink. During the night it hides itself in the shadows and is uncontrollable. It becomes very choleric and destroys the elephants, horses, and foot soldiers within its reach.

17. When the must has reached the climax<sup>(5)</sup> the elephant wishes to destroy the whole creation, and becomes restless. It cannot bear (to hear the sound of) bells (tied to the neck) of other elephants, and hates even its own shadow.

18. When the state of must is past the elephant looks like a spent cloud: it has no ichor, speed or anger. It walks about gently and has no enmity for other elephants.

19. The elephant becomes greatly weakened by the loss of ichor and therefore it quickly succumbs to many serious diseases and may even be deprived of must in the succeeding years<sup>(6)</sup>. Hence the evil effects of must should be remedied within three months.

20. "Sahā"<sup>(7)</sup>, "Amṛtā"<sup>(8)</sup>, "Cīgrū"<sup>(9)</sup>, "Balā"<sup>(10)</sup>, "Dvimūrvā"<sup>(11)</sup>,

(1) "Odoriferous".

(2) *Alstonia scholaris* (गन्धवृक्ष).

(3) "Kunkuma". In Sanskrit this means "Saffron", but in some South Indian languages, a vermillion coloured powder.

(4) "Choleric".

(5) "atikrāntāvasthā", In the *Hastyāyurveda*, p. 693, this state is called "ativāhini".

(6) Lt. Col. G. H. Evans also considers this to be bad (*Elephants and their diseases*, p. 176).

(7) *Aloe perfoliata*, or *Unguis odoratus*.

(8) *Embilica officinalis*, *Terminalia citrina* Roxb., *Cocculus cordifolius*, *Piper longum*, or *Ocimum sanctum*.

(9) *Moringa pterygosperma* (मूँग).

(10) *Sida cordifolia*.

(11) Probably means "the two Mūrvās". "Mūrvā" is *Sanseiera roxburghiana*.



"Kapittha" <sup>(1)</sup>, "Saptaechada" <sup>(2)</sup>, sandal wood, "Kadamba" <sup>(3)</sup>, "Guñjā" <sup>(4)</sup>, "Madhuka" <sup>(5)</sup>, "Açva-gandhā" <sup>(6)</sup>, "Jivantikā" <sup>(7)</sup>, "Çālmali" <sup>(8)</sup>, and "Sūraṇa" <sup>(9)</sup>;

21. (Or) "Vṛcīra" <sup>(10)</sup>, "Sevyā" <sup>(11)</sup>, "Ikṣura" <sup>(12)</sup>, "Kukkuṭāṇḍa" <sup>(13)</sup>, "Guñjā" <sup>(4)</sup>, "Açva-gandhā" <sup>(6)</sup>, "Aguru" <sup>(14)</sup>, and "Gokṣura" <sup>(15)</sup>, compounded with coconut-milk and honey and made into balls should be administered to elephants when they are just getting in rut.

22. Roots of "Koraṇḍa", jasmine, "Nīmba" <sup>(16)</sup>, and "Tilva" <sup>(17)</sup>, Salt, and "Inguda" <sup>(18)</sup> compounded with honey and made into balls, should be administered in order to increase the irascibility (of an elephant in rut).

(1) *Feronia elephantum* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫).

(2) *Alstonia scholaris* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫).

(3) *Nauclea cadamba*, white mustard, *Andropogon serratus*, turmeric, or a particular mineral substance.

(4) *Abrus precatorius* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫).

(5) *Bassia latifolia* or *Jonesia asoka*, *Parra jacana* or *goensis*, or *liquorice*.

(6) *Physalis flexuosa*.

(7) A parasitical plant, a kind of pot-herb, *Cocculus cordifolius*.

(8) *Bombax heptaphyllum* or *Salmalica malabarica* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫).

(9) *Amorphophallus campanulatus* (the Telinga potato).

(10) A *Punarnava* with white flowers. ("Punarnava" is hog-weed or *Boerhaavia procumbens*).

(11) *Ficus religiosa* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫), *Barringtonia achutangula* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫), a sparrow, an intoxicating drink made from the blossoms of the *Bassia latifolia* the parasitical plant *Vandā*, *Emblie Myrobolam*, the root of *Andropogon muricatus* red sandal-wood, sea salt, the thick middle part of curd, or water.

(12) *Capparis spinosa*, *Asteracantha longifolia*, or *Saccharum spontaneum* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫).

(13) A fowl's egg; or a species of rice.

(14) *Aquilaria agallocha*.

(15) *Tribulus lanuginosus*; or a cow's hoof.

(16) *Azadirachta indica* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫).

(17) *Symplocos racemosa*, or *Terminalia catappa* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫).

(18) *Terminalia catappa* (𑖦𑖜𑖫𑖩𑖪𑖫).

23. The paste of "Mātulūṅga",<sup>(1)</sup> "Suvabhā",<sup>(2)</sup> "Sahā",<sup>(3)</sup> "Kaṇṭhā",<sup>(4)</sup> "Sapta-parṇā",<sup>(5)</sup> "Vijayā",<sup>(6)</sup> "Ingudi",<sup>(7)</sup> honey and milk, smeared over the body,<sup>(8)</sup> will bring the elephant in rut under control.

#### X. CAPTURE OF ELEPHANTS.

1. Trapping,<sup>(9)</sup> decoying with the help of cows, running down, felling together, and pit-fall are the five ways of catching elephants. Of these each succeeding method is more censurable than that preceding. Since the last two are (often) destructive, they, and especially the fifth, ought not to be practised.

2. The trap<sup>(10)</sup> measures about two miles<sup>(11)</sup> in length and breadth. It is hedged with logs and surrounded with an impassable moat. Leading out from the entrance there is a road which gradually increases in width and is fenced on both sides.

3. The door is drawn up and fastened above. Inside the enclosure a number of stakes are driven into the ground and tethers are fastened to them. Then sugar-canes, etc. are laid (at the outer end of the pathway) and the elephants (that may have been enticed by the bait) are frightened with the sound of drums and driven into the enclosure, (and the door is let down) quickly by cutting the ropes (which keep it fastened above).

(1) Citron.

(2) Name of various plants (*Vitex negundo*; *Cissus pedata*; *Boswellia thurifera*, etc.).

(3) See page 86, note 7.

(4) Long pepper; Cammin seed; a kind of fly.

(5) See page 87, note 2.

(6) Name of various plants: *Terminalia chebula* (ส้มขี้เหล็ก); *Sesbania aegyptica* (ถั่ว); *Vitex negundo*; *Rubia manjistha*; *Fremna spinosa*; a kind of hemp; a kind of Cami (Cami: *Prosopis spicigera* or *Mimosa sumu*); *Acorus colamus*, (กะลีสัน รันน้ำ หวดน้ำ ล).

(7) *Terminalia catappa* (ตะขาก).

(8) It is not clear whether it is the body of the elephant or of the driver that is to be smeared with the preparation.

(9) "Vāri-karma".

(10) "Vāri".

(11) One "Kroṇa".

4. After two or three days mahouts enter the enclosure armed with spears, etc. They skilfully tether the selected animals to the stakes and drive the rest out.

5. The mahouts then secure (each newly caught elephant) with soft but tenacious ropes at the neck, behind the forelegs and the hind part of the body, and with fetters on hind legs, and with long ropes fastened to the front, they drag it (forward) slowly, reducing, in the meanwhile, the pull on the ropes behind.

6. Thus, with the help of tame elephants, they slowly drag the wild ones from stake to stake and get them into the stables.

7. The hunters fasten hides under the stomachs of five or six trained cow elephants and conceal themselves within those hides equipped with ropes etc. They then direct the cows into the herd (of wild elephants), and deftly secure the bulls. This is capture by decoying with the help of cows<sup>(1)</sup>.

8. The cow which has been bathed with cold water in which "Varā"<sup>(2)</sup>, "Aguru"<sup>(3)</sup>, bark of "milk-trees"<sup>(4)</sup>, great cardamoms<sup>(5)</sup>, black sandal-wood<sup>(6)</sup>, "Sevya"<sup>(7)</sup> and "Lodhra"<sup>(8)</sup> had been kept soaked, entices the bulls.

9. A paste of honey, "Uçira"<sup>(9)</sup>, "Natā"<sup>(10)</sup>, and toddy or the

(1) "Vaçā-lobhana".

(2) The three kinds of myrobalan (*Terminalia chebula* त्रिषु, *Terminalia bellerica* त्रिषु, and *Phyllanthus emblica* त्रिषु), *Glypea harnandi folia*; *Asparagus racemosus* (अशुषु); *Cocculus cordifolius*; turmeric; *Embelia ribes*; a root similar to ginger; Brāhmi (a kind of fish, *Macroglossus pancatus*; a kind of vegetable; *Clerodendrum siphonanthus*, त्रिषु); Renukā (*Piper aurantiacum*; *Oldenlandia herbacea*).

(3) *Aquilaria agallocha*.

(4) Literally trees which exude a milky juice. But V. S. Apte's Sanskrit dictionary restricts the term to four of them viz. banyan, fig, *Ficus Religiosa* (तृषु), and *Bassia latifolia*.

(5) "Māleya".

(6) "Kāleyuka".

(7) See page 87, note 11.

(8) *Symplocos racemosa*.

(9) *Andropogon muricatus*.

(10) *Tabernaemontana coronaria*.



urine of bull elephants, will exercise a powerful influence over the bulls if it is applied to the sexual organ of the cow, and so should also a paste of crabs<sup>(1)</sup>, hen's eggs<sup>(2)</sup>, and seeds of "Karañja"<sup>(3)</sup>.

10. An entieing-unguent can be made by compounding "Path-yā"<sup>(4)</sup>, the feathers and claws of the blue jay and the crow, "Mañ-jisthā"<sup>(5)</sup>, "Sabā"<sup>(6)</sup>, "Cārībā"<sup>(7)</sup>, "Go-ṛṅga"<sup>(8)</sup>, "Alasaka"<sup>(9)</sup> feathers of the arrow,<sup>(10)</sup> "Suvahā",<sup>(11)</sup> "Kṣeṇi-Kadamba", lotus, "Putram-cāri", "Natā",<sup>(12)</sup> wool, hoofs, and urine of sheep, "Mayūri-gikhā",<sup>(13)</sup> "Māleya",<sup>(14)</sup> "Añjana",<sup>(15)</sup> "Nāga-puṣpa",<sup>(16)</sup> and honey.

11. The hunters frighten the elephants with the sound of drums and trumpets and give chase to them till at last the calves become exhausted and stand still. The hunters then promptly secure them. This is capture by "running down",<sup>(17)</sup>

12,13. The hunters bring a number of ropes made of cocoanut-fibre, wire, etc., each sixty cubits long and terminating in many nooses, place the nooses, here and there, in an extensive pit one cubit deep, cover them with dust, secure the plain ends of the ropes to a tree

(1) "Bilvaka". Another reading Substitutes "Tilvaka" which means *Symplocos racemosa* or *Terminalia catappa* (बिल्व).

(2) "Kukkoṭaṇḍa". This may also be translated as "a kind of rice".

(3) *Pongamia glabra* (पुष्प-पत्र).

(4) *Terminalia chebula* (अमृत-पत्र) or *citrina* and other plants.

(5) Indian madder (*Rubia manjista*).

(6) *Aloe perfoliata* or *Unguis odoratus*.

(7) *Herrisamus indicus* or *Ichnocarpus frutescens*.

(8) *Acacia arabica*.

(9) This is an emendation suggested by the editor of the original. If this is the same as "Alas" it means *Fitis pedata* Wall.

(10) "Iṣu-punkha".

(11) *Vitex negundo*, *Cissus pedata*, or *Bauhinia thurifera*.

(12) *Tabernaemontana coronaria*.

(13) *Celosia cristata* (बिल्व-पत्र).

(14) Great cardamom.

(15) Lamp black, antimony, extract of Ammonium, Xanthorrhiza, etc., made into a black pigment for applying to the eye-lids.

(16) *Mesua roxburghii*.

(17) "Anugatākhyo grahaḥ".

and lay lotus stalks, bamboo (shoots), plantain (trees), sugar-canes, etc. (as bait). When the elephants are eating the bait the hunters fell them by pulling the ropes and tie them up. This is capture by "felling together".<sup>(1)</sup>

14. The hunters dig a pit four cubits deep, two cubits broad and five cubits long, and cover the pit with mats supported by light strips of bamboo, and again with earth. Thus they secure the calves that approach the bait and fall into the pit. This is capture by "pit-fall".<sup>(2)</sup>

#### XI. DAILY AND SEASONAL CARE.

1. When the elephant which had lived in the forest happily is separated from its herd and placed in the power of man by ill-luck, it feels hurt by fetters and cruel words and is unable to live long.

2. It thinks again and again of the free and happy life it lived by mountains streams and lotus-ponds; and in the depths of the forest in company with the cows. Then it becomes sorrowful and refuses the food placed before it.

3. When it broods upon its former happiness its ears and tail cease to move and it becomes emaciated and dies in a few days.

4. Its eyes become rheumy. Its navel, hind-limbs, and vent become swollen. It eats no food, feels no joy, and notices nothing: it becomes moody like a king who has lost his kingdom.

5. Egg is a substance which is composed largely of the heat element<sup>(3)</sup> and the elephants did originate from an egg<sup>(4)</sup>. Being thus subjected to heat from the very time of their origin, elephants take delight in cold water, dust and mire. Water is indeed the very life of elephants as it rectifies their humours. Elephants must therefore be given plenty of water.

6. An elephant which has just been brought down from the forest must be sprinkled over with cold water and given cold water to drink. At sunrise and sunset it must be allowed to remain immersed in water as long as it likes, and then smeared over with medicated ghee<sup>(5)</sup>.

(1) "Āpāta-sañño graham".

(2) "Avapāta", lit. "falling down".

(3) "Taijasa".

(4) See I, 22 and 23.

(5) "Çata-dhauta-ājya", lit. "ghee purified a hundred times". (Ghee means melted butter).

7. After the bath the elephant must be given rice cooked with "mudga" beans<sup>(1)</sup> and ghee and drinks sweetened with jaggery<sup>(2)</sup> and sugar-canes.

8. The following are items of daily attention arranged in their due order:— 1. Watering<sup>(3)</sup>; 2. Setting loose to move about freely; 3. Administering medicines; 4. Brushing; 5. Stabling; 6. Giving food mixed with ghee and jaggery; 7.....<sup>(4)</sup>; 8. Bathing; 9. Watering; 10. Giving the evening feed mixed with oil; 11. Administering medicines; 12. Stabling.

9. The elephant may be fed with tubers and stalks of lotus and other nymphaea, plantain (trees), nutmeg, "Cṛṅgātaka",<sup>(5)</sup> panic grass,<sup>(6)</sup> fig, "Sallaki",<sup>(7)</sup> sugar-canes, spike-nard,<sup>(8)</sup> Banian, bamboo, young leaves and fruits of "Plaksa",<sup>(9)</sup> "Aśvattha",<sup>(10)</sup> and "Kapittha"<sup>(11)</sup> and other similar things which are acceptable to it.

10. The King of Kalinga says ghee is a most easily obtainable remedy for elephants which have watery eyes or are lean, bilious, injured by carrying heavy burdens or are worn out by constant journeys, to those which are indifferent to the cows, are paralysed or are weakened by loss of blood, flesh or ichor, and to the young as well as the aged.

(1) *Phaseolus mungo* (ମୁଣ୍ଡା).  
(2) unrefined sugar in lumps.

(3) "Toyāvalokaḥ", lit. sight or seeing of water. In Tamil (a South Indian language) watering domestic animals is referred to as "Showing the water" to them. There is another word "Çayyā" (bed) found in the original before "Toyāvalokaḥ", but printed separately, and hence it is superfluous besides item 12.

(4) "Pāla-dānam" i. e. giving "Pāla". "Pāla" is translated as (1) "pack or bundle" and (2) Straw. The first sense however should be more appropriate since "giving the pack (or bundle)" may be taken to mean "putting to work" and otherwise there is no mention of work in the above time-table.

(5) *Tropa biapinosa*, *astracantha*, or *Barleria longifolia*.

(6) "Dūrya", *Panicum dactylon*.

(7) *Boswellia thurifera*.

(8) "Nalada", *Nardostachys jatamansi*.

(9) *Ficus infectoria*.

(10) *Ficus religiosa* (ଈଁ).

(11) *Feronia elephantina* (ଈଁ).



11. In the beginning let an elephant be given one "Kuḍava"<sup>(1)</sup> of raw rice concealed in grass, and then the allowance increased by one "Kuḍava" a day till it measures an "Āḍhaka".<sup>(1)</sup> The ration of cooked rice is to be gradually increased at the rate of one ball a day and so should the other prescribed articles of food be rationed with judgment.

12. Boiled wheat and barley are to be given flavoured with cardamom, ginger, pepper, long pepper, asa foetida, the two varieties of cummin,<sup>(2)</sup> "Ajāji",<sup>(3)</sup> and "Viḍaṅga",<sup>(4)</sup> as should also boiled wheat and barley mixed with jaggery and ghee, or with rice or cow's<sup>(5)</sup> urine.

13. Let the young,<sup>(6)</sup> the middle-aged, and the old elephants be allowed one-half, three-fourths and two-thirds of an "Āḍhaka" of oil (a day). This ration of oil will give strength and speed and induce must.

14. A middle-aged elephant can have twenty "Palas"<sup>(7)</sup> of medicine and two "Prasthas"<sup>(8)</sup> of ghee per day. In the case of others the quantity of medicine and ghee must be altered to suit their strength.

15. Each time an elephant is watered let the water be given mixed with rice and pulses which have been cooked together, curds, oil-cake and jaggery, to make it grow fat.

16. For each "cubit"<sup>(9)</sup> one "Bhāra"<sup>(10)</sup> of grass, four "Āḍhakas" of rice, eight "Kuḍavas" of oil, and ten "Palas" each of salt and jaggery are prescribed.

(1) 16 "Kuḍava"s = 1, "Āḍhaka" (= nearly 7 lbs. 11 oz. avoirdupois).

(2) "Jiraka-yuga".

(3) A kind of cummin.

(4) *Embelia ribes*.

(5) Bovine.

(6) The original has "uṣasi yavasa tailam". But this should be "uṣasi vayasi", etc.

(7) A measure of weight equal to about 1<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> oz. troy.

(8) One "Prastha" is equal to 16 cubic aṅgulas (see p. 79, n. 2).

(9) This is in reference to the size of the elephant.

(10) A measure of weight equal to 2,000 "palas" (see note 7 above).

17. One "Ādhaka" of flour mixed with "Viṇṇa"<sup>(1)</sup> "Akṣi-ba"<sup>(2)</sup> "Kulmāṣa"<sup>(3)</sup> "Māṣa"<sup>(4)</sup> and wheat is required for preparing cakes.<sup>(5)</sup>

18. By constantly moistening the feet (with oil) they remain fresh and cool during the journey, the soles, nails, and eyes remain whole, and hair grows on the head.

19. Moistening the body (with oil) cures the diseases and dryness of the skin, wounds caused by fettering and hitting, stiffness of the limbs, and nervous disorders caused by accumulation of mucus<sup>(6)</sup>. It makes the bones and limbs supple, fattens slightly, and gives beauty, energy, strength, and happiness.

20. Through anointing (the head?) with ghee the diseases of the eyes are cured and sight is strengthened.

21. Through anointing the tusks the tusks remain firm in the sockets, strong, shiny, fissureless, and fit for striking with.

22. Salt helps to digest the heavy meal, evacuates the bladder, eradicates worms, cures flatulence gives appetite and induces perspiration: it is like ambrosia<sup>(7)</sup> to the elephants during the hot season.

23. Salt must not be given with the morning food for, it is then harmful. But mixed with the evening food it aids digestion and becomes a curative.

24. Ghee mixed with white sugar and milk is beneficial if given with warm food. The sage (Pālakāpya?)<sup>(8)</sup> says that as a drink milk is good when cold.

25. The elephant must be allowed to the early morning sun and

(1) *Embelia ribes*.

(2) *Moringa pterygosperma* (मृगमूल).

(3) Sour gruel; an inferior kind of grain, half ripe barley; forced rice; a sort of *Phaseolus*; a species of *Dolichos*. Of these the last two senses seem to suit the context better than others.

(4) *Phaseolus radiatus*.

(5) The quantity of the various ingredients mentioned in this verse also seems to be in proportion to each cubit of the elephants bulk as in verse 16.

(6) "Cīta-samīra-kopa".

(7) "Amṛta" or "drink of immortality" which is said to prevent disease old age and death.

(8) It must be remembered that Pālakāpya himself is represented as speaking.

the moon-light,<sup>(1)</sup> and fed with tasteful rice and wheat not damaged by worms, both of which have been boiled and mixed with plenty of flesh.

26. When the elephant wakes up (in the morning) it must be given a dose of gingili oil mixed with the powders of ginger, pepper, long pepper, the two "Rajanis",<sup>(2)</sup> "Kuṣṭha",<sup>(3)</sup> Aja-moda,<sup>(4)</sup> "Pratyak-puṣpā",<sup>(5)</sup> the two "Karañjas",<sup>(6)</sup> garlic, "Vacā",<sup>(7)</sup> "Sthāpanī",<sup>(8)</sup> asafoetida, white mustard, the seeds of "Ariṣṭa",<sup>(9)</sup> "Jvalana",<sup>(10)</sup> "Paṭu",<sup>(11)</sup> "Varā",<sup>(12)</sup> Loha-reṇu<sup>(13)</sup> "Kṛmighna",<sup>(14)</sup> and "Nya-grodhi"<sup>(15)</sup>

27. Let a dose of cardamoms, "Vacā"<sup>(16)</sup>, garlic, salt, ginger, white mustard, asafoetida, pepper and "Kṛmī-ṣatru"<sup>(17)</sup> mixed with oil be administered to the elephant as soon as it wakes up, in order to

(1) The original reads "Caṣṭikālā ruciraṇṇa sāliḥ", etc. If however the first two words should be printed together as "Caṣṭikālāruciraḥ", etc. the meaning will be "rice beautifully (white) like the moon light", etc.

(2) "Rajani-dvandva". *Curcuma longa* (ငါးရည်) and *Curcuma aromatica* (ငါးရည်အနီ)

(3) *Saussurea auriculata*

(4) Common caraway, the species called Ajwaen (*Ligusticum ajwaen*), a species of parsley, *Apium involucreatum*.

(5) *Achyranthes aspera*.

(6) *Pongamia glabra* (ပဲခူး), *Galeodupa piccidia*.

(7) *Acorus colanum* (ငါးရည်အနီ, ငါးရည်)

(8) *Clypea hernandifolia*.

(9) The soapberry tree (*Sapindus detergens*, Roxb.), *Azadirachta indica* (အနီရည်)

(10) *Plumbago zeylanica* (ငါးရည်အနီအနီ)

(11) *Trichosanthes dioeca*; *Momordica charantia*; *Nigella indica*; a species of camphor; a mushroom; salt, pulverized.

(12) See page 89, note 2.

(13) Iron filings?

(14) The root of the jujube; the marking-nut plant; carcoma (ငါးရည်); the plant *Vernonia anthelmintica*.

(15) *Salvinia cucullata* or some other plant.

(16) *Acorus colanum* (ငါးရည်အနီ, ငါးရည်).

(17) The plant *Erythrina fulgens*.



cure the disorders of phlegm and wind<sup>(1)</sup>.

28. During autumn and summer, the elephant should be fed in the mornings with cooked rice mixed with jaggery and ghee, and in the evenings with boiled rice mixed with salt and oil. But in the other seasons it should be fed with "Kulmāsa"<sup>(2)</sup> mixed with jaggery and boiled rice instead. So also should powders conducive to energy, strength, and digestive power, be mixed with jaggery and administered to it.

29. During the winter<sup>(3)</sup> the elephant has much of phlegm since it (continues to) eat juicy bushes and creepers and sport in mire and water.

30. (In the winter) it is good to feed the elephant with forest grass<sup>(4)</sup>, anoint its head and feet, and also smear them over with a mixture of oil and lamp-black.

31. Musk-rat<sup>(5)</sup>, "Citraka"<sup>(6)</sup>, "Vāji-gandhā"<sup>(7)</sup>, "Kārpāsa"<sup>(8)</sup>, "Danti"<sup>(9)</sup>, "Rajani"<sup>(10)</sup>, "Varā"<sup>(11)</sup>, all incinerated and mixed with sesamum oil and applied on the head proves beneficial.

32. The points for attention during the cold season<sup>(12)</sup> are:—  
1. Equipping the stable with screens, fire, and warm liquor either by itself or seasoned with ginger, pepper, long pepper and "Paṭu"<sup>(13)</sup>;  
2. Giving curds with the evening food; 3. Covering the elephant with blankets; 4. Restricting the ration of sugar canes; 5. Feed-

(1) See page 78, note 1.

(2) See page 94, note 3.

(3) "Himartu" or the "season of snow", lasts from about the middle of November till about the middle of January.

(4) i.e. grass that grows on dry ground.

(5) "Cucundari".

(6) *Plumbago zeylanica* (අමුරුකැවිල්ල); *Ricinus communis* (කැවිල්ල).

(7) *Physalis ferox*.

(8) Cotton (Plant).

(9) *Croton polyandrum*?

(10) *Curcuma longa* (කුරුම); the indigo plant; a grape (or lac).

(11) See page 89, note 2.

(12) "Çigira" lasts from about the middle of January till about the middle of March.

(13) See page 95, note 11.

ing little by little; 6. Exercising daily; 7. Not allowing to play in water and eat grass (that grows near water).

33. The points for attention during the spring are:—1. Keeping the elephants in fragrant gardens; 2. Feeding them with a mixture of boiled rice and wheat, curds and oil; 3. Working them lightly; 4. Setting them free to bathe in rivers and feed on "Balā"<sup>(1)</sup> peas and pulses.

34. The points of attention during the summer are:—1. Taking the elephants on journeys; 2. Keeping their heads wet with water trickling from leather bags; 3. Anointing their heads with "Çata-dhanta" ghee<sup>(2)</sup> in the mornings, noons, and evenings; 4. Keeping them in the cool moonlight; 5. Feeding them with flour mixed with jaggery and ghee; 6. Stabling them in a cool place; 7. Allowing them to play with water and wet mud.

35. The points of attention during the rains are:— 1. Giving well water to drink; 2. Feeding with grass which grows on (dry) land; 3. Stabling in a place which is free from mire; 4. Fumigating the stable to expel flies and mosquitoes; 5. Giving enemas<sup>(3)</sup>; 6. Feeding the elephants with boiled rice mixed with meat-juice of wild game and oil, and with broths which increase the digestive power.

36. The points of attention during the autumn are:— 1. Feeding the elephants generously with green paddy, sprouting pulses, and wheat; 2. Allowing them to remain in a cool place, and swim in water every day; 3. Adding boiled milk and ghee to the evening feed.

37. The points of attention during the winter<sup>(4)</sup> are:— 1. Allowing the elephants to bask in the morning sun; 2. Adding the flesh of aquatic and marsh-born animals to the food; 3. Bathing the elephants at least once a day in deep water; 4. Constantly smearing their heads with oil.

38. An elephant which is liable to derangements of the "wind" is cowardly, wayward, restless, proud, fast and dull-witted, has broken

(1) *Sida cordifolia*.

(2) See page 91, note 5.

(3) "Vasty-asthāpana-karma".

(4) "Hemana", same as "Himanta", explained in note 3, page 96.

nails, "perverse sensitiveness",<sup>(1)</sup> large and shaky feet, rough skin, scanty hair, visible veins,<sup>(2)</sup> rough tusks and unsymmetrical eyes, and its actions are incongruous.

39. An elephant which is liable to disorders of the "bile" has ugly red eyes, and thin body, trunk, tusks, ears, neck, hind-legs, nails, skin, and hair, is choleric, voracious, weak, and treacherous, and has "superior sensitiveness."<sup>(3)</sup>

40. An elephant which is liable to diseases of the "phlegm" has yellow eyes, large-sized trunk tips, trunk, cephalic knobs, etc., has weak desires, weak digestion, and "deep-seated sensitiveness",<sup>(4)</sup> is not very irascible, is fearless, steady, easily controlled, swarming with bees (attracted by its ichor), and fond of music, has stout and smooth tusks, and is amorous.

41. An elephant whose humours are balanced has honey-coloured tusks, and well-proportioned and steady limbs, is courageous, is not lean and has copious ichor, good digestion, "correct sensitiveness"<sup>(5)</sup> and a bow-shaped back-bone.

42. Even the sages do not correctly understand the disorders of the elephants and the results presaged by their symptoms. How can ordinary men understand them?

43. Only forest-life is prescribed for elephants. When living outside the forest, unwholesome food and drink, food eaten at irregular hours, undigested food, and wandering and sleeping in unsuitable places excite the morbid humours of the body and quickly bring about various kinds of physical and mental diseases.

44. Owing to the constant flow of urine the genitals of an elephant in must become inflamed. They should be constantly smeared over with a "Pala"<sup>(6)</sup> of "Gairika"<sup>(7)</sup> mixed with ghee.

45. Sucking (the air?), closing the eyes, smelling the earth, trees,

(1) See chapter VIII, verse 23.

(2) The original reads "lakṣya-snāyu-sirā-virūksa", etc., which must be corrected into "lakṣya-snāyu-siro-virūksa", etc.

(3) See chapter VIII, verse 20.

(4) See chapter VIII, verse 21.

(5) See chapter VIII, verse 22.

(6) See page 93, note 7.

(7) Gold; red chalk.



sky, and wind, sloth, dryness of the mouth, throbbing of the ear tips, want of passion,

46. yawning often, pensiveness, dislike for dust, and redness of urine and the eyes, are the marks of an elephant overpowered by thirst.

47. By the favour of Brahmā water alone suffices to heal all the wounds of the elephants as well as to allay hunger and thirst.

48. Elephants suffer mostly from diseases caused by worms. So only vermicides need to be administered to them daily.

49. Medicinal powders like "Hingvastaka", "Cūrṇarāja" and "Saptaviṃṣati-guggulu" and oil and ghee are also to be administered to them.

50. One should diagnose the fever known as "Pākala" by means of the same symptoms as those of the fevers of men, and treat it in the same way as one would treat the latter.

51. The pathology of the elephant is the same as that of man. Therefore persons skilled in human pathology should be employed to diagnose and treat the diseases of the elephant in the same manner as those of man.

## XII. THE QUALIFICATIONS FOR DRIVERS, ETC.

1. The superintendent of elephants should be wise, king-like<sup>(1)</sup>, virtuous, loyal, pure, truthful, free from vices, modest-eyed, polite, industrious, experienced, and civil in speech. He should have received his training from a good teacher, should be skilful, courageous, philanthropic, famous for curing diseases, and have an all-round knowledge.

2. The king's mahout should be skilled in training elephants, in suiting the use of the goad, cudgel, etc. to the occasion and to the strength of the animal, and in taking care of elephants in rut. He should be skilful in mounting and dismounting, have patience, and be alive to the age and vulnerability (of his charge).

3. The mahouts are of three kinds: the considerate<sup>(2)</sup>, the tactful<sup>(3)</sup>, and the assertive<sup>(4)</sup>. The first follows the inclinations of the elephant, the second asserts his will also, and the third depends solely

(1) Probably this is a highly exaggerated way of saying that the superintendent should be fairly well-to-do.

(2) "Rekhavān", lit. "one who has bounds".

(3) "Yuktimān".

(4) "Bala-vān", lit. "strong".

on his own strength and cunning. These rank, respectively, as the best, the middling, and the worst, and the last is not to be employed.

4. The mahout who is skilful in mounting, dismounting, sitting at the shoulder and at the back, controlling the elephant with his words, feet, and the goad, putting it through its paces, wheeling it around, stopping it, and setting it against those of the enemy, is invincible.

5. A mahout who can bring the vicious elephant under control, contrive the normal animal to have must, make the sluggish become speedy, and the peaceful become murderous, deserves to be patronised by kings.

6. There are three classes of elephants. The means of communicating with them is three-fold. Their paces are three and their movements are of five kinds. There are three modes of sitting at the front and five at the back, six of using the goad (according to the force employed) and five more according to the movements (which the elephant is made to perform through it). The ways of mounting the elephant are eight and of dismounting ten.

7. It has been mentioned already that "Bhadra", "Manda", and "Mṛga" are the three species of elephants. I shall now explain the paces, etc., beginning with "the means of communication".

8. Words, feet, and the goad are the three means of communication. Of these the act of communicating by words is again of three kinds: cajoling, ordering, and threatening.

9. The trainer shall use verb words of Sanskrit,<sup>(1)</sup> Prakṛt,<sup>(1)</sup> or the language of the locality, in training the calf. (For example) he shall say "hum" twice to make it kneel down, say "take, take" to make it take anything up, and "above, above" to make it raise its trunk.

10. He shall say "stop, stop" to make it stop, "come, come" to make it approach, and say "go, go" to make it go.

11. He shall thrust his feet inside the collar, take a firm hold of the elephant with his thighs, sit like a pillar holding the goad in his right hand and the (other) "instruments for giving pain"<sup>(2)</sup> like the cane, in his left, and heedfully guide the animal by firmly prodding it with his big toes and heels.

(1) Sanskrit is the classical language of India and "Prakṛt" is the generic name of a number of ancient dialects from which some of the modern vernaculars of India have been derived.

(2) "Totram".

12. To make the elephant go forward he shall prod it with both the big toes (kept level and pushed forward). He shall prod with uplifted toes to make it raise its face up, and with toes bent down to make it lower its face. To make it turn to the right he shall prod it forwards with the big toe of his left foot and vice versa to turn it to the left, and dig backwards with his heels to make it move backwards.

13. Going slow, going fast, and running are the three paces. Going forwards, going backwards, turning to the right, turning to the left, and turning round are the five movements.

14. The place between the neck and (the visible part of) the back bone is called "Kakuda" <sup>(1)</sup>. There are three modes of sitting to the front of it known respectively as "the front", "the middle" and "the back" <sup>(2)</sup> postures.

15. (Of these) one is sitting with the feet stretched (down) <sup>(3)</sup>, another is sitting with bent knees, and another, at the back (of the last two), is sitting on the knees.

16. (The five postures of sitting behind the "Kakuda" are:) sitting with a foot stretched (down) on either side of the backbone of the elephant, sitting with the knees bent which is called the "bent-knee posture", the above (with the knees kept) raised up which is then called the "raised posture", sitting with one knee raised up and the other bent down called "the tortoise-posture", and sitting with the knees bent double and kept close together called "the frog-posture".

17. In compliance with the request of Skanda <sup>(4)</sup> and also out of pity for the world which He found was being oppressed by the big and powerful elephants, Brahmā created a being. The corners of his eyes are red with anger, he wears a tall crown and is called "Aṅkuṣa" <sup>(5)</sup> because he holds "Kuṣa" <sup>(6)</sup> grass in his hand.

18. He lives within the four kinds of goads and brings the vicious and excited elephants under control. The sages have prescribed the use of those four kinds of goads only. They are shaped like the thun-

(1) Shoulder.

(2) "Adhama", lit. "lowest".

(3) "Ekaḥ prasāritah pādah".

(4) The son of Īṣa the Third Person of the Hindu Trinity, and the generalissimo of the gods.

(5) The goad.

(6) *Poa cynosuroides*.



der bolt, the half-moon, claw, and the thorns of the "Ketaka"<sup>(1)</sup> respectively.

19. The goad is used in six places:<sup>(2)</sup> at the "Vitāna",<sup>(3)</sup> the "Vidu",<sup>(4)</sup> the neck, the outer corners of the eyes, (the top of) the head, and "Avagraha"<sup>(5)</sup>

20. The face of the elephant is to be scratched at the front slightly with the goad in order to make it go forward, scratched with a backward motion in order to make it go backward and scratched with an upward motion to make it climb up. The goad is pressed down to make the elephant climb down. The elephant is struck on the left side to make it turn to the right and vice versa to make it turn to the other side. Thus is the goad used for different purposes.

21. The goad may be struck in lightly, struck in so as to cause pain, struck in with force, raised high and then struck in, struck in and pulled across (through the flesh), or struck in and turned round and round. In the first case the goad goes in half an "aṅgula"<sup>(6)</sup> and this depth is increased by half an "aṅgula" in each of the succeeding operations.

22. An elephant comes under control if it is driven with a goad (the point of) which has been smeared with a paste of the flowers of "Madhūka"<sup>(7)</sup>, honey, "Kūla"<sup>(8)</sup> "Vacā"<sup>(9)</sup> "Açva-gandhā"<sup>(10)</sup>, "Bilva"<sup>(11)</sup>, onions, black pepper, and cow's<sup>(12)</sup> urine.

(1) *Pandanus odoratissimus* (पण्डुसुत). The thorns are found at the edges of the leaves.

(2) The original has "ṣaḍvidhā" lit. "in six ways".

(3) Probably the correct word here is "Vilāṣa" (chapter VI, verse 8).

(4) Chapter VI, verse 7.

(5) Chapter VI, verse 7.

(6) See page 79, note 2.

(7) *Bassia latifolia*.

(8) The plant *Cassia sophora*; a red kind of *plumbago*; the resin of the plant *Shorea robusta*.

(9) *Acorus calamus* (अकुरुचिन्नु. इन्दुचिन्नु).

(10) *Physalis fuscusa*.

(11) *Aegle marmelos* (अगलेमर्मेल).

(12) Bovine cow.

23. They say that a paste of "Koçātaki"<sup>(1)</sup>, ginger, black pepper, long pepper<sup>(2)</sup>, white mustard, "Kāraskara"<sup>(3)</sup>, "Tikta" salt, and "Viṅga"<sup>(4)</sup> applied to the goad brings the elephant under control.

24. (A paste of) centipedes, head of the chameleon, "Çilā"<sup>(5)</sup>, bile of the horse, hair of the deer, slough of the snake, and scorpions, applied to the goad cures the elephant of its pride.

25. The cudgel is used on five places, namely, the two sides, the two "Niṣkoças"<sup>(6)</sup>, and the root of the tail.

26. One gets upon the elephant in eight ways: by (the aid of its) two ears, four legs, and the face, and by "Samplutī" i.e. running after the elephant and then jumping upon it.

27. One gets down from the elephant in ten ways: by (the aid of its) tail, the four legs, the face, the two sides, and the two ears."

28. Thus did the sage Pālakāpya expound the life of the elephants to King Romapāda. The king, on his part, maintained the sage with great esteem, and (by) devoting himself to the care of the elephants he defeated his enemies and ruled long over the whole world.

29. The ancient sages called the lotus "Roma".<sup>(7)</sup> Since the feet<sup>(8)</sup> of the king were marked with (lines resembling) the lotus he was named "Romapāda."

30. Pālakāpya was called so because he protected<sup>(9)</sup> the elephants and was a Kāpya<sup>(10)</sup> by his lineage.

(1) *Trichosanthes dioica*; *Luffa acutangula* (บวบเหลี่ยม); or *Luffa pentandra*.

(2) This and the preceding two are referred to together as "Katu-traya" (ขมิ้นชัน คือ ขมิ้นหัว ขมิ้น ใบ และ ขมิ้น).

(3) A poisonous medical plant (*Strychnos nux-vomica* ฝิ่น).

(4) *Embelia ribes*.

(5) Red arsenic; camphor.

(6) Chapter VI, verse 12.

(7) The sense commonly ascribed to this word is "hair."

(8) "Pāda."

(9) "Pāla" is derived from √ *pā* or *pāl*, meaning "to protect", etc.

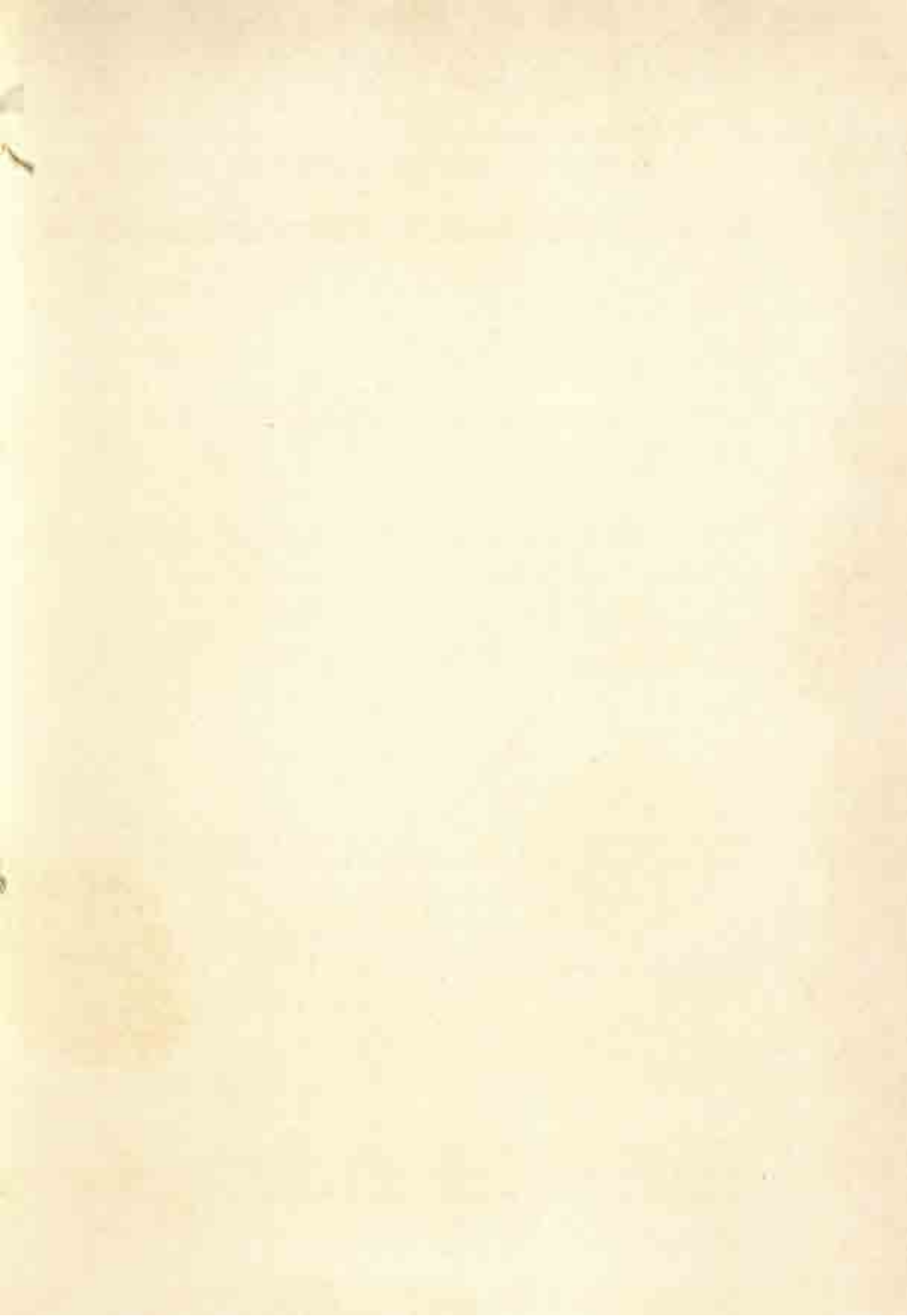
(10) "A male descendant of Kāpi".

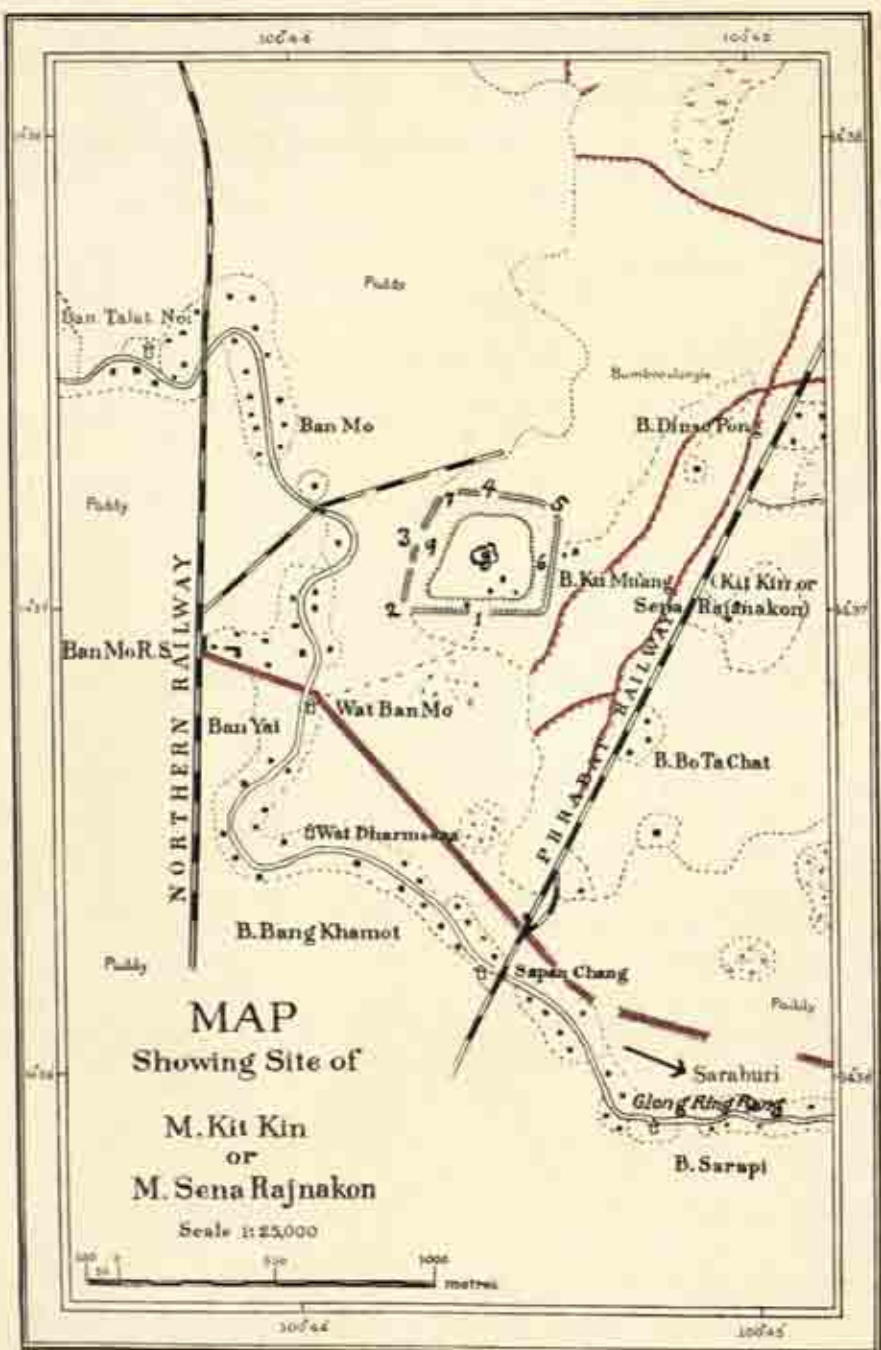
May scholars be pleased to correct this meagre "Mā-taṅga-līlā" which I have obtained from the treatise of the great sage<sup>(1)</sup> which is like the unfathomed sea.

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<sup>(1)</sup> The treatise referred to is the "Hastyāyurveda" of Pālakāpya. The printed copy of the text published by the "Ānandāgrāma" press, Poona, in 1894, contains 717 pages (8vo).







1. Pratu Wat Sak
4. Pratu Phi
7. Phraya Dak Sai

2. Pratu Jay
5. Fishing Gate
8. Kok Prasud

3. Pratu Klang
6. Pratu Lom
9. Bo Khao Sak

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## NOTES ON KHU MU'ANG.

The main part of the following notes was read, in the form of a *causerie*, before the study Section of History, Archaeology, Philology and Literature as far back as 1924, but up till now nothing on the subject has been published.

At the request of His Excellency Phya Indra Montri (F. H. Giles), President of the Siam Society, who has been good enough to consider this short study of sufficient interest to be published in the J. S. S., I have partly re-written it and also added a few facts brought to my knowledge since I read the original notes before the Society.

Khu Mu'ang, also known under the names of Sena Raja Nakon or Mu'ang Kit Kin, lies about 600 metres to the east, slightly north, of the Ban Moh Station on the Northern Railway Line, Ban Moh being the next station after that of Thā R'ua.

The district round Khu Mu'ang and Ban Moh forms part of Amphoe Nong Dôn, Changvat Saraburi.

To reach the old so-called fortress one at first follows the embanked road or *chaussée* constructed more than thirty years ago for the purpose of linking up Ban Moh with Saraburi. That road is now in a sad state of disrepair and not much used any more. After having crossed a shallow watercourse, called Klong Ru'ng Rang, at Wat Ban Moh one leaves this road and proceeding by an ordinary path winding over the paddyfields one soon afterwards arrives at the so-called South gate or entrance to Khu Mu'ang. The fortress is built in the shape of an irregular square, and consists of a single earthen rampart with an outer and an inner moat.

Only traces of the exterior moat are now seen. It had originally a breadth of about 20 metres being, on its face, preceded by a kind



of glacis.

The ramparts, now completely overgrown with trees and bushes, have a height of about 8.5 metres—the northern face being slightly higher—and measure at their base 39 metres, the breadth of their crown coming to 23 metres. The circumference of the ramparts is roughly 1,500 metres.

The interior moat has also a breadth of about 20 metres and is, in its present state, very shallow, its bottom being on a level with that of the exterior moat. It has now been converted into paddy fields or garden land.

According to local tradition there are five gates, namely, Pratu Wat Sak (Gate of the temple lying in the teak grove) or South Gate, situated in the middle of the southern rampart; Pratu Klang (the middle gate) in the middle of the western rampart; Pratu Phraya Dak Sai or the fishing gate in the north-western corner of the ramparts; Pratu Phi (Gate of the dead) situated in the northern rampart; and Pratu Lom (the windy gate) in the eastern rampart. Pratu Wat Sak faces Pratu Phi, and Pratu Klang, the windy one.

According to the map made many years ago by the Royal Survey Department there was also a gap in the north-eastern corner of the ramparts, which may have been another "fishing gate".

Finally there is a third gap just south of Pratu Klang, but I was told by the local people that this was of quite recent origin.

The central part of the area within the ramparts forms a kind of island being highest towards its center, which is called Kōk Prasat. Here stood, according to local tradition, a royal palace. In spite of a painstaking search I was unable to find traces of a building having ever been erected here. Still if excavations were undertaken some traces of a construction might be found.

The space between Kōk Prasat and the western (inner) moat is called *luñ*, i. e. inside the precincts of the palace, and in the rim of the island to the west are seen some stoneworks where, according to the same local tradition, was the Tha Nam or royal bathing place. Of the embanked roads or bridges which must have connected the palace island with the various gates nothing is to be seen.

On the top of the southern rampart, at a distance of some seventy metres to the west of Pratu Wat Sak, I saw a disorderly heap of stones and bricks showing that some unholy treasure diggers had been at work here. This heap of stones represents what is called

Wat Pratu Sak. The local guide explained that several Phra Pok Nak or images of the Buddha sitting on the serpent had been found here. The only thing I was able to find was a small carved debris of grey sandstone showing a portion of a naga's scaled body.

Outside and quite near to the northern rampart are the lime quarries of the Siam Cement Company, which are connected with the Northern Railway Line by a short branch line. To the north of the quarries lies a piece of elevated ground covered with low jungle. Here are seen several heaps of bricks which, according to tradition, are the remains of old temples. One of these heaps, near a grand old Be tree standing on the bank of Klong Phraya Dak Sai, is called Wat Ta Krong (Temple of Grandfather Krong). I was told that in an old cemetery, situated close by, several human skulls of an enormous size had been dug up from time to time. I was not able, however, to obtain a single specimen of these giants' skulls! Two other heaps of bricks lying to the north-west of Wat Ta Krong are called Wat Luang (the great or royal temple) and Wat Chaeng (temple of dawn) respectively. Nothing of interest was found here. To return to the fortress itself, a well is shown in the middle of the interior moat facing west. This well is called Bô Khao San (the rice well) because when it was dug a thick layer of carbonized rice grains was encountered at a depth of about 3 metres. This layer has, according to information given by the local kamnan (sub-district officer), an underground extension of several tens of metres. The peasants set a high value on this carbonized rice, using it for medicinal purposes.

I obtained some of this stuff and Dr. Kerr, Director of the Botanical Section of the Ministry of Commerce, who kindly undertook to have it examined, confirmed that it really was rice grain carbonized by heat.

The accumulation of a layer of earth of 3 metres thickness on the top of the rice shows that the fire, which carbonized the rice, must have taken place very long ago, probably 250-300 years ago.

Perhaps the now carbonized rice originally was the contents of a large rice bin belonging to the garrison of the fortress and burnt down when this was conquered by the invading Môn-Burmese armies during the wars in the middle of the 16th century. Of other finds made in the old fortress should be mentioned a large clay mould used for the making of မုခ်ပုံငွေငါးပုံ, i. e. votive images of the five



hundred Buddhas, since disappeared; there have also been found gold objects in the shape of bracelets and a diminutive elephant and eight exceedingly small conches inside each of which was an image of the Buddha. The latter, I was told, were still in the possession of an abbot living in Ban Talat Noi—to the north of Ban Moh. As the abbot was absent at the time I visited Ban Moh I did not get the opportunity of examining these very interesting objects. Among the ruins of Wat Chaeng gold ornaments are also said to have been found. However, all this is hearsay. Luckily we have other visible facts which show that Khu Mu'ang though perhaps not constructed by the Khmer, must have been at least occupied by them for some time. In a sala covered with a roof of corrugated iron and adjoining the small museum recently established at Phra Buddha Bat, the famous place of pilgrimage not far away from Khu Mu'ang, one sees a collection of six gilt stone images. Four of these images (in the attached picture they are seen in the background, from left to right one standing—partly seen—one sitting, again one standing and one sitting) represent Lokapalas or Guardians of the four corners of the world, according to the Brahmanic cult. The images all hold clubs in their hands, the attributes of this kind of divine beings. The heights of the Lokapalas are: of the sitting ones, 1.06 and 1.07 metres respectively, and of the standing ones 1.47 and 1.81 respectively. The group of Lokapalas was recovered from débris found in Khu Mu'ang and the artist responsible for their restoration was the late Phya Chinda Rangsan of the former Department of Royal Fine Arts in Bangkok.

It seems, however, that the artist has not been quite successful with the restoration of the faces of the two sitting Lokapalas which do not bear the imprint of Khmer art.

The two images shown in the picture, namely, to the extreme right in the background and to the left in the foreground, represent Bodhisattvas or Pre Buddhas. This is proved by the small figures of the Dhyani Buddha placed in front of the chignons of these images.

Originally the Bodhisattvas had each two pairs of arms of which now only stumps are left while their legs have been broken at knee height. Even so the height of the images is still 1.37 and 1.26 respectively. The image shown in the left foreground is the tallest of the two.

The Bodhisattvas are clothed in sampots or loin cloths and bear





Lokapalas or Guardians  
from Khu Mu'ang



the unmistakable stamp of Khmer handiwork to which must also be ascribed the four Lokapalas. The material used for the images is a grey sandstone.

So much for the exterior features of Khu Mu'ang. We now come to the problem: When was this ancient fortress built and by whom? What does history tell us? According to Phongsawadan (*Vamṣāvatāra*) Nu'a or Northern Chronicle, that most unreliable concoction of myths and fairy tales, interspersed with a few grains of truth, the great Thai conqueror Phra Sri Dharma Traipidok (The divine and beautiful Lord of the sacred Tripitaka, i. e. The Buddhist religion) after having made himself master of the Memam plain, appointed one of his sons, Prince Kraisoru Raj, ruler of Lavo or Lophburi. This prince is said to have built for himself a walled city at a distance of 500 sen or 25 kilometres from Lophburi, which is at the exact distance of our Khu Mu'ang from the former town. The chronicle goes on saying that when the city walls, the gates, the watch towers and royal palace had been constructed the prince, accompanied by his consort, went to the new city, and was crowned a ruler over it.

The name of Sena Raja Nakon was bestowed on the city, and according to the Phongsawadan Nu'a all this happened in the year B.E. 1500 or 957 A. D.

According to popular belief the tale is different. It says that when King Rama had finally gained victory over the wicked Ravana he recompensed his faithful allies, Hanuman and Sugrib, with grants of land. Hanuman received the site of the later Lavo while Sugrib got that of Sena Raja Nakon. Hanuman finished his task of building Lavo first, and Sugrib, seeing that, became disgusted and gave up his work. Tradition has it, therefore, that Sena Raja Nakon was never finished.

To readers of the Ramayana the name of Kit Kin will be known as associated with Sugrib. This explains the second name of the old fortress now known under its present name of Khu Mu'ang, simply "the city moats".

To students of Siam's past the facts present themselves somewhat different from the above tales. From excavations in Lophburi it now seems established that that ancient place was already in the 5th century A. D. occupied by a Môn people, civilized by Indian immigrants, who professed the Buddhist religion, probably under the Mahayanistic form as they used Sanscrit characters for their in-



scriptions.

Furthermore from an inscription, this time in the Môn language, found at the temple ruin of San Sung, also in Lophburi, we know that during the 6-7th century A. D. this people had become the overlords of the Menam plain, Lophburi forming part of the Dvaravati kingdom.

About the year 1000 A. D., the Khmer conquered the Menam valley which they held till *circa* 1250, when the Thai, coming down from their northern mountain fastnesses, ousted the Khmer for ever and made Sukhotai-Sawankaloke their twin capitals. The region round Lophburi was finally annexed by King Ramathibodi or U-Thong, the founder of Ayudhya, some years before he built his new capital at Nong Sano.

In view of these facts there does not seem to be much ground for believing that a Thai King by the name of Sri Dharma Traipidok was reigning in 957 A. D., as at that time the Thai had certainly not yet penetrated into the Menam Valley.

What is certain is that Khu Mu'ang must have been occupied by the Khmer during their rule over Lower and Central Siam and they probably also were the builders of our old so-called fortress.

Khu Mu'ang by reason of the manner in which it was laid out, with an interior moat leaving very little space for habitation, could never have been a town. Its plan rather suggests one of these elaborate temples which the Khmer delighted in building: a temple on an artificial island surrounded by a wall and double moats. Temples of such a construction might of course be used as fortress or *points d'appui* in case of war or similar troubles.

The above notes do not claim to have solved the problem of the origin of Khu Mu'ang or to have said all that may be said about this old site. I only hope that some future students, equipped with the necessary means, may continue my modest pioneer work.

Finally I beg to tender my best thanks to Mr. W. H. Pittman, of the Asiatic Petroleum Co., who kindly took the photographs illustrating this paper and to Captain His Serene Highness Prince Nityakorn Varavarn for various assistance kindly rendered. The map was made by the Royal Survey Department in 1924.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, November 1933.

## A PROPOS DU "SIAM DIRECTORY" DE S. J. SMITH.

Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, col. 784, a donné sur le *Siam Directory* de S. J. Smith une notice lacunaire puisqu'on n'y trouve décrits que les volumes VII (1884), XI (1888),<sup>(1)</sup> XII (1889), XIII (1890) et XV (1892) de cette publication. Comme le *Siam Directory* de S. J. Smith est souvent utile à consulter, il vaut la peine, je crois, de compléter la notice de Cordier. Voici donc les renseignements bibliographiques relatifs aux volumes non décrits par Cordier :—

1.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1878. First Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office. Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, (env. 25 x 18cm.), 1 f.n.c. + pp. 72 + 2 f.n.c.

2.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1879. Second Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office. Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, 2 f.n.c. + pp. 96 + 1 tableau.

3.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1880. Third Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, pp. 92 + 16.

4.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1881. Fourth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, with map 4½ Ticals. Without map 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, pp. 111 + 1 tableau.

5.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1882. Fifth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, pp. 112.

6.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1883. Sixth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, pp. 113 + 1 f.n.c.

7.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1885. Eighth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8 1 f.n.c. + pp. 117 + 12 marquées A-M.

8.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1886. Ninth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 4 Ticals. Bangkok

<sup>(1)</sup> Ce volume XI est aujourd'hui difficile à trouver. Un vieux résident de Bangkok m'assure qu'il est recherché depuis de longues années pour compte siamois.

Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, 1 f.n.e. + pp. 122 + 12 marquées A-M.

9.—The Siam Directory. For The Year 1887. Tenth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S.J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, 1 f.n.e. + pp. 146 + 12 marquées A-M.

10.—The Siam Directory. For The Year 1891, With a Map of Siam by J. McCarthy. Fourteenth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 5 Ticals. Bangkok: Printed at the Bangk'olém Office., gr. in-8, pp. I-IV + 192 + 20 + 12 (marquées A-M) + 14.

La notice de Cordier s'arrête au 15<sup>e</sup> volume, qui est en effet le dernier de cette publication.

Immédiatement après sa notice sur *The Siam Directory* (de S. J. Smith), Cordier en donne une autre : *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam for 1892*, qu'il fait suivre de deux remarques en petits caractères : "Publié par S. J. Smith, Bangkok, depuis 1878.—Continue."

A la seconde remarque il n'y a rien à reprendre. Elle s'applique encore correctement au *Directory for Bangkok and Siam* qui, en 1932, en est à sa quarante-troisième année.

La première remarque au contraire ne saurait s'appliquer qu'au *Siam Directory* de S. J. Smith, l'autre annuaire, *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam*, ayant été fondé par le *Bangkok Times* en 1890.

On peut se demander si Cordier ne croyait pas que le *Directory* du *Bangkok Times* avait pris la suite de celui de S. J. Smith.

En 1912, Cordier ne connaissait pas encore le *Siam* de W. A. Graham (première et deuxième éditions, 1912), dont la notice n'apparaît qu'aux colonnes 2874-75 de la *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, dans le volume IV, daté de 1915. Mais il se peut qu'il ait puisé ses renseignements à une source qui a été aussi celle de Graham dans le passage suivant, *Siam*<sup>1-2</sup>, p. 590 : "In 1869, S. J. Smith printed the first number of his *Siam Repository*, which appeared annually until 1874. There then occurred a gap of four years, at the end of which time the *Repository* reappeared under the title *The Bangkok Directory* and this was conducted by S. J. Smith until well on in the eighties, when it was taken over by The Bangkok Times Press, since when it has appeared, with constantly increasing bulk and value, until at present day it consists not only of a very complete directory of the country, but also of a mass of historical, fiscal and general information and statistics which make it a most useful and instructive



volume. *The Siam Directory*, which made its first appearance a few years, two or three years ago, is modelled on the lines of the Bangkok Directory and is also a useful volume."

Ce petit morceau est fort inexact. Essayons de rétablir les faits.

Il est exact que S. J. Smith a fondé son *Siam Repository* (v. Cordier, col. 782) en 1869. Mais le *Siam Repository* n'était pas une publication annuelle; c'était une publication trimestrielle. Il est encore exact que le *Siam Repository* a cessé de paraître en 1874 et que S. J. Smith a entrepris en 1878 la publication d'un *Directory*. Seulement ce *Directory* ne s'appelait pas le *Bangkok Directory*, il s'appelait et s'est toujours appelé, tant qu'il a duré: *The Siam Directory*.

Le *Siam Directory* a paru pendant quinze ans, ainsi qu'on l'a vu plus haut, de 1878 à 1892. Il a donc survécu aux années 80, contrairement à ce qu'affirme Graham.

Graham prétend enfin que le *Bangkok Times* a pris de S. J. Smith la suite de la publication qu'il appelle *The Bangkok Directory*. Mais S. J. Smith ou l'a vu ne publiait aucun *Bangkok Directory*, dont il pût passer la suite; c'était un *Siam Directory* qu'il publiait. D'autre part, le *Bangkok Times* n'a jamais publié de *Bangkok Directory*. Sans doute, jusqu'en 1907 inclus, a-t-il inscrit le titre *The Bangkok Directory* sur le dos de son annuaire. Mais depuis 1908, il a inscrit même sur le dos le titre qui a toujours figuré à l'intérieur: *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam*<sup>(1)</sup>. Et l'annuaire du *Bangkok Times* a si peu pris la suite de celui de Smith que les deux annuaires ont paru concurremment pendant trois années: 1890, 1891, 1892. J'ignore il est vrai si le *Bangkok Times* n'a pas finalement passé traité pour absorber l'annuaire rival. Au point de vue bibliographique cela importe peu. Ce qui importe, c'est que, bibliographiquement, les deux publications, celle de Smith et celle du *Bangkok Times*, n'ont entre elles aucun lien.

On pourra donc améliorer la notice de Cordier, 1) en la complétant comme nous l'avons fait; 2) en reportant la remarque: "Publié par S. J. Smith, Bangkok, depuis 1878", sous cette notice au lieu de la laisser sous la notice du *Directory for Bangkok and Siam*; 3) en

(1) Graham s'est aperçu lui-même de son erreur touchant le titre du *Directory for Bangkok and Siam*. Dans la troisième édition, en deux volumes, de son *Siam*, Londres, 1924, I, p. 303, il a refait de la manière suivante l'une des phrases incriminées: ".....since when it has appeared as *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam*, a publication that consists not only....."

spécifiant que le vol. 15 est le dernier de la publication.

Le titre *Siam Directory* a été repris. C'est celui d'un annuaire publié par l'imprimerie du *Siam Observer* (première année: 1909, R. S. 128).

Le second *Siam Directory* est celui dont parle Graham à la fin du passage cité plus haut. Le dernier volume publié est celui de 1931. L'imprimerie du *Siam Observer* et le journal ont disparu en 1932.

J. B.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

JEAN YVES CLAEYS, Membre de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Inspecteur du Service Archéologique de l'Indochine *L'Archéologie du Siam*; Hanoi, 1931, in-8, 88 pages; with numerous photographs, sketches, plans and one map of Siam.

The author of the above very interesting book is a young French architect and archaeologist who, quite recently, on the retirement of Monsieur Henri Parmentier, the Nestor of Indochinese archaeologists, took over the important position of Inspector of the Archaeological Service in the five countries which constitute the French Indochinese Union. M. Claeys modestly calls his book a rapid survey of the archaeological sites of Siam from Nakhon Sri Thammarat in the south to Chiengsaen in the extreme north. We think, however, that his survey contains more than the rudiments of that complete and all embracing archaeological survey of the kingdom of Siam which some day surely must be made if science is only given the necessary means to carry it out. Monsieur Claeys' book moreover reads easily, due to his clear style, his up-to-date information and the intelligent manner in which he treats his subject and arrives at his conclusions. His book has made Siamese archaeology richer and better known to the world outside this country, for which all students of things Siamese will thank him.

In his introduction, the author praises with good reasons the admirable pioneer work done by His Royal Highness *Prince Damrong*, "un vrai érudit", who by his indefatigable interest in his country's past history has also powerfully stimulated others to work for the cause of archaeology. As is well known, this interest in the glories of the past is lively shared by His Majesty the present King. One of the most important results of Prince Damrong's manifold



activities is of course the creation of the Royal Museum in Bangkok, probably the richest in its kind of the museums east of Suez, and in the organization of which *Prof. George Cœdès'* scholarly spirit and orderly hand has helped so much.

The author mentions a number of names of former or present students and experts on Siamese archaeology, but we think that only about half of these have had any real connection with what is properly understood by this term. *Fournereau*, first of all, did his admirable work for the old ruined temple cities of Sukhothai and Savankaloke, besides other places, though some of his beautiful plans and drawings perhaps taste a little too much of the "architect", to quote our author.

Next we have *Aymonier*, who did the first spade work in the vast regions of North-East Siam, to be followed by *Lunet de Lajonquière* with his monumental inventory of the Khmer vestiges in that part of the kingdom where I, later on, was able to add further information. The work in Central, West, South and partly in North-West Siam, is due to the efforts of Prince Damrong, Lunet de Lajonquière and Professor Cœdès. To these names may now be added with honour that of Monsieur Claeys. Of the other names given by the author we think that, with the exception of *General de Beylié's*, these are more connected with epigraphy or history than with archaeology.

The archaeological work in this country is, of course, far from finished, on the contrary it has just begun. The clearing and excavating of some few of the more important ruins constitute but a small fraction of the task still left to be carried out. As a former French minister to Siam has justly remarked, "this country is so rich in archaeological material that it is only necessary to scratch the surface in order to make new and startling discoveries." The number of archaeological sites still uninvestigated is simply stupendous. Personally, I know of at least fifty such sites, mostly situated in the forest covered parts of the vast Circle of Nakhon Rajasima; these sites consist of temple ruins as well as of ancient fortified places.

In North Siam there are a considerable number of Thai temple ruins situated in the Mae Ing valley; and the renowned ancient city of Umong Selanakhon is also found in that part of the country. When I was at Amphoe Mu'ang Hôt (south of Chiangmai) last year I was told that around that town there lie, hidden in the jungle, no less than eighty ruined Thats. In view of the numerous ruins I saw myself, this statement is not unbelievable. In the south of the king-

dom, to the west of Chaiya, there are said to exist several uninvestigated ruins of great interest, among them the remains of a large walled city which is considered by the inhabitants of Chaiya to have been the capital of a former petty kingdom and, as such, anterior to Chaiya. Even not far from Bangkok it is possible to make discoveries; for instance in the month of July this year, during a short visit to Tha Ru'a (on the Nam Sak), I came across the remains of a large, double cross-shaped construction, probably a temple from the Khmer period. There is, therefore, no doubt that a systematic exploration and survey would bring to light a hitherto undreamt of number of interesting ruins which may furnish inscriptions and statuary that will assist considerably in unraveling the past history of Siam and its relations to the cults and arts of the neighbouring countries.

But to return to our author. Before he sets out on his long perenigration from south to north, North East and East Siam was not visited, he treats the reader with a short but clear, instructive and correct exposé of the successive schools of art which have flourished on the soil of this country. From the Gupta influenced arts of Dvaravati and Srivijaya, pre Khmer and Khmer to the Thai schools of U-Thong, Sukhothai, Chiengsaen, Lopburi and Ayudhya he shows us the development of the image of the Buddha right down to the modern type of the great Teacher so well known from the temples of Bangkok. We think it not superfluous to mention here that this development of the Buddha image has also been ably traced by Mr. R. S. le May, a former Vice president of the Siam Society, in an excellent lecture given before the Siam Society in 1932 (so far unpublished) as well as by Mr. U. L. Guehler, a member of the Council of the Siam Society, in a paper published in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (8th volume, part 6, 1932). This may be said without detracting in the least from the merit of the masterly work done by Prof. Cœdès who, in intimate collaboration with Prince Damrong, was the first in the field in this country. It was thus Prof. Cœdès who made the happy and important discovery that the Nakhon Sri Thammarat Buddha image and that originating in Chiengsaen are intimately related to each other. A bridge had been built between the extreme South and the far away North!

It is not the purpose of this review to follow the author in detail during his long journey from Nakhon Sri Thammarat via Chaiya, Petchaburi, Rajaburi, Phra Pathom to Ayudhya, Lopburi, Pitsanuloke



and Khun Rama Kamheng's old twin capitals to end with the visits to the northern temple cities of Payao, Chiengsaen, Lamphun and Chiengmai, to give the route he followed.

We shall content ourselves with culling a little, here and there, when we encounter anything we think new or of special interest to the readers of the *Journal of the Siam Society*.

M. Claeys, when treating the constructions of the spacious Wat Phra That in Nakhon Sri Thammarat, mentions the small models of stupas which are believed, according to tradition, to represent earlier edifices now walled up and covered by larger ones, as is the case with the mighty stupa in Phra Pathom. He also mentions the find of such a reduced stupa or chedi which was recently brought to light in the central chedi in Wat Sri Sanphet in Ayudhya, and which he considers to be a kind of relic casket.

In this connection it may be of interest to add that many years ago, when visiting Ku Kham Ku Na, a Khmer brick built sanctuary lying south of Savannaphum, Changvat Roi Et, (Lunet de La-jonquière's Ku Si Cheng, I. K. 361), I saw, placed in the middle of the chamber in the central tower, a small model of this tower executed in red sandstone.

Both in Nakhon Sri Thammarat and in Chaiya, the influence of Indo-Javanese art is strongly evident—in the latter place especially, in Wat Phra That and in Wat Kaeo whose cubistic style also reminds of the Cham art. Wat Kaeo, which seems to have suffered much less from "restorations" than Wat Phra That, should prove a very interesting object of study when it has been cleared sufficiently from that mass of earth and vegetation that now partly hides it. Wat Kaeo is an extraordinarily interesting building and a close study of its style and details should contribute much to our present scanty knowledge of that art which predominated in the region of Chaiya in the 7th–8th century A. D.

Monsieur Parmentier, who also visited Chaiya, a few years ago, thinks he recognizes in the bas-reliefs of Borobudur representations of buildings identical in style with our Wat Phra That.

Another interesting feature in the two Chaiya temples is the manner in which the bricks were laid and joined together, which is identical with the process used by the old Chams.

Chaiya was in the 7th–8th century A. D. a large and flourishing town, the seat of a vassal king under the then powerful hinduized Srivijaya empire in Sumatra. Lying round the present towns are



ruins or traces of many ancient Buddhist or Brahmanic sanctuaries, a future systematic exploration of which, coupled with excavations, would doubtless give a rich harvest. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Royal Institute, in a not too distant future, will be able to find men and means to commence a work which otherwise may be too late!

M. Claeys, in describing the monuments of Lopburi, is of the opinion that Phra Prang Sam Yot was built, like Phra Prang Khek (also called Thevasathan) by the Thai. We doubt the correctness of this assertion, as it seems to us that the sculptured stones, such as the acrotères, etc., bear the clear imprint of Khmer handiwork.

M. Claeys did not visit Mu'ang Sri Thep, an ancient deserted town situated in Changvat Petchaburi, to the east of the Nam Sak, but judging from the magnificent statues of Vishnu (now in the Museum in Bangkok) which go back to the Gupta period, as well as Sanscrit inscriptions from the 5th century A. D. found there, this site seems to be of the highest importance for the whole of the Indian colonial art. We join the author in the hope that it may soon be possible to send an expedition to this far away place in order to have it thoroughly explored.

The author gives a detailed and very instructive description of Wat Chulamani, a temple ruin lying eight kilometres south of Pitsanuloke, where the original capital of the province, called Song Kwae, lay. Though only very badly damaged remains are now left of a former beautiful Khmer temple, its finely sculptured, one may say embroidered, substructure and porticos reminded the author strongly of that jewel of art, the Banteay Srei temple, near Angkor Thom, which has recently been so excellently rebuilt and restored by M. Marchal, Curator of the Angkor ruins.

Wat Chulamani also commands interest as being the most northern outpost of the Khmer cultural influence while to Siamese it is interesting as the place where King Paramatrailokanath entered the Buddhist priesthood, in the year 1465.

In describing the temples and other monuments in the old twin capitals of Sukhothai-Savankaloke (Sri Sachanalai and Chalieng), the author gives one a good impression of the many influences which met here to blend and develop into what we call Thai art and architecture. India through the Môn gave the Stupa or Chedi to the Thai; from the Khmer they inherited the Prang, besides most other things, while the elephants acting as cariatides for the two Wats

Chang Lom came as motif from Ceylon. Still the Thai produced independently *their* national type of the Buddha image, first of all the walking Buddha, the significance of which Prof. Coedès has so well interpreted. The beautiful tiered roofs of the Thai Wat is also no doubt a pure Thai invention and not copied from other nations, though their likeness to the old Scandinavian stave churches is striking.

We have now reached North Siam and M. Claeys is visiting the temples of Mu'ang Phayao. Here he finds that the monks are introducing new methods of construction when repairing the old temples. They employ as a matter of fact reinforced concrete! To employ ferro concrete in temples is anathema, sheer vandalism to our author, and rightly so.

All lovers of the graceful Thai temples will share the feelings of M. Claeys and deplore this vandalism. Besides committing the sin of using unbecoming materials for the restoration of the temples, the monks commit another and perhaps still graver one. In substituting ferro concrete ones for the wooden beams and pillars, the monks at the same time try to widen the nave of the building with the fatal result of making the whole fabric unstable, besides altering the traditional outlines of the fine Thai temples. The monk "architects" are thus evolving a new type of sacred building, a type which, however, is devoid of grace and harmony. In Chaiya the author saw an old stupa "restored" by a Chinese contractor who, among other innovations, had dressed the devatas, in the reliefs, in Chinese apparel. This is not the only act of vandalism. Even to the casual observer it is evident that most of the old temples and monuments left to the care of the monks are threatened with grotesque alterations which will make them quite unrecognizable. To quote another example. Quite recently it was decided to repair the famous temple of Phrabat and the work was entrusted to a Chinese monk from one of the temples of the capital. The result of this monk's "restoration" work has so far proved disastrous. The former fine Naga staircase has now been transformed into an ugly yellow painted monstrosity of concrete. A worse fate was to befall the graceful Mondob, but wise people succeeded in stopping the "architect's" nefarious activity before he had spoiled that fine building too.

One of Siam's finest and most characteristic possessions are her beautiful temples: viharas, bôts, chedis and bell-towers, without which this country would be poorer to a great extent; so much so indeed that



a Siam without this host of graceful monuments would not be Siam at all.

It therefore seems a great pity that so many of the oldest and finest among her sacred buildings should be spoiled by ignorant, though well meaning, monks or barbaric contractors. It is sincerely to be hoped that all restoration work of this kind will in the future be placed under the supervision of the Royal Institute to which it rightly belongs. Such is, I am sure, the hope and desire of all friends of Siam's noble temple architecture.

M. Claeys ends his book with a description of the more important temples of Lamphun and Chiangmai devoting detailed studies to Wat Kukut in the former and Wat Chet Yot at the latter place. Wat Kukut is a copy of the famous Sat Mahal Prasada at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon, while Wat Chet Yot is a modified copy of the Mahabodhi in Pagan, which in its turn should be a copy of the original Bodhi Gaya temple in India (5th century A. D.). The author's clear and detailed descriptions of these monuments, accompanied by photographs, sketches and plans will be read with a real pleasure and profit by those interested in temple architecture. To conclude: M. Claeys' book is of great value, and the study of it is indispensable to all who wish to acquire a solid knowledge of the archaeological riches in which this country abounds. His book may also be read by laymen with no small profit.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, November 1933.

RAM CHANDRA KAK, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, 1 vol., 8vo, 172 pages, with numerous illustrations and plans, published by the India Society, London, 1933.

Pandit Ram Chandra Kak is a former Director of the Department of Archaeology and Research in the Jammu and Kashmir State and he has, in the book under review, produced something very interesting and instructive which will also be of high value to students of the archaeological questions and tasks in Indochina.

In a foreword, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, famous alike as an explorer and a diplomatist, on behalf of the India Society, welcomes this publication as one that really gives the need-



ful information on those wonderful ancient monuments which are still standing in the enchantingly beautiful valley of Kashmir, that Kashmir, which, to the dwellers of the hot plains of Central India, is the very Eden.

Monsieur A. Foucher, famous expert on Graeco-Buddhist art in North-Western India and Afghanistan, has written an introduction in which, among other true maxims, he says: "No very long experience is needed to teach one that dreaming before and remembering after are the best parts of travelling". He praises the author for the precise information he gives on the geography, history, architecture and archæology of Kashmir, but regrets that something about the still surviving popular customs and beliefs is not included. And indeed to have heard the peasants' tales about genii, elves and fairies would have been fascinating.

The same regret holds good with regard to this country where, so far—with the exception of a few articles such as the late Mr. A. J. Irwin's "Some Siamese Ghost lore and Demonology" (J. S. S. vol. IV, Part II), and a few references in Mr. Thompson's delightful book *Lotus Land* and in Mr. le May's *An Asian Arcady*, as good as nothing has been published to cover this vast and interesting field of the spiritual experiences and beliefs of former and present generations in Siam.

Indeed the study of Siamese superstitions and folklore would be a worthy subject for a prize essay when the Siam Society, in a not all too distant future, let us hope, comes to be a prosperous and well-to-do institution.

As in Kashmir we also have amongst Nagas, Pisachas and Yoginis. And do we not also possess the natural images of the gods appearing in the lines of the rocks, Phra Chai at Saraburi to name only one?

Kashmir must certainly be *the* enchanting country—notwithstanding our own northern Arcady—by reason of its grand natural beauty, its magnificent temple ruins and its poetic and picturesque population. So much is it so indeed that Professor Foucher, this critical savant and archæologist, does not hesitate to exclaim that the great Pan is not dead yet but that when chased from Arcady in ancient Hellas, he sought and found a last shelter in Kashmir!

Pandit Ram Chandra Kak is, however, quite sound as a scientist, due to his own bright intelligence and to the training he received under the incomparable direction of that great archæologist Sir John Marshall.

The author himself provides a short and modest preface in which he justly says that though many books have been written on Kashmir his is the first to give in a compact and easily accessible form the necessary information on the various ancient monuments. His book is, as a matter of fact, a delightful guide to the beauties and monuments of a delightful country.

We are not going to give an exhaustive review of Mr. Ram Chandra Kak's book, however tempting this would be, as Kashmir cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called a neighbouring country of Siam. On the other hand, though it may be said that there is a far cry from Kashmir to Siam, there are still, in both the ancient Kashmirian architecture and the temples of the pre-Khmer and classic period of Cambodia and Siam, not a few similarities and common traits which are worth mentioning. Thus the Hindu and Buddhist planning of the temples in Kashmir is the same as obtained here in Siam and Cambodia, viz. a sanctuary, a tower or a stupa, standing in the centre of a square or rectangular court surrounded by cells or cellular galleries. The gopura (gate buildings) even, are not lacking though they seem, in the case of Kashmir, to have been less elaborate than in ancient Cambodia. Smaller sanctuaries and temple ponds were also often included in the plan of the Kashmir temples. The towers containing the idol of Çiva or Vishnu were always built on substructures of stone, provided with flights of steps approaching the main door of the sanctuary. Sanctuaries, by the author called *mandapas* (*mondob* in Siamese), provided with doors on all four sides were also quite common as here in Siam and Cambodia. The essential difference is to be found in the shape of the superstructure of the towers. The Kashmirian sanctuaries were covered by a rooflike superstructure, instead of our graceful stepwise retreating pyramid, giving the tower the beautiful silhouette of the Phra Prang.

The porticos, pilasters and door-frames of the Kashmirian sanctuaries are also poor with regard to sculpture, when compared with the richness of the Bayon or Angkor Wat. Still when looking on the plans of the once magnificent temples of Avantisvami, Martand or Buniar one is struck with the similarity in plan and spirit with our most noble temple buildings.

One advantage the ancient Kashmir temples do possess over ours, and that is the extremely beautiful surroundings in which they stand. Thus, for instance, the imposing Çankaracharya temple (built *circa* 1650), like an eagle's nest, crowns the Takt-i-Sulaiman Hill, com-



manding one of the finest views in the whole of Kashmir, to use the author's expression. The only temple here I can think of, to compare with Çankaracharya, is Phra Vihar (*circa* 900 A. D.) which stands on the top of the mountain range of Dong Rek in the great forest to the south-east of Ubon. As a construction Phra Vihar (which was dedicated to Çiva like the Kashmir temple) is certainly vaster and more elaborate, but the view from its topmost building, though grand, does not perhaps compare in beauty with the view one has from Çankaracharya.

The earliest period of temple building in Kashmir falls between 200 and 600 A. D. These early buildings were all in the Buddhist Gandhara style. Only a few are left now, among them being the very interesting complex of temples and stupas recently excavated at Harwan, one of these temples being apsidical in plan. To the early style belongs the curious chip masonry, walls built of pebbles encased in mud and diaper pebble walls (in which large stones were encased in order to give more stability). The Harwan temple was built in the 6th century and on its site have been found, as at the site of its contemporary, the Phrapathom Chedi, numerous terra-cotta figures, terra-cotta curls belonging to images of the Buddha, a large number of broken off fingers and toes and clay votive tablets with the same formula: *Ye dharma*, the so-called Buddhist credo. The pavement of the courtyard in the Harwan temple was decorated with sculptured terra-cotta tiles, and at least part of the façades of the temple was also decked in this manner. This might be worth keeping in mind in future research work at Phrapathom.

From 600 to *circa* 1300 A. D. falls the mediæval period of temple construction in Kashmir. In 1337 the Muslims got the upper-hand, with the deplorable result that almost all the Buddhist and Brahmanical temples, among them not a few magnificent ones, were ruthlessly destroyed. This mediæval period corresponds, during its later part, with the so-called classical period of Cambodia, in which such masterpiece as the Bayon and Angkor Wat were created by the Khmer genius. The temples of the mediæval period can be divided into two groups:—Buddhist and Brahmanic or Hindu temples. The latter are the most numerous. With regard to material, ornaments and technique these were the same for both groups. As material, mostly a fine grey limestone was utilized.

Of the Buddhist stupas very little is now left except their bases; not a single one has its drum *in situ*, so thorough were the Muham-



meddans in their iconoclastic fury! The stupas were built on double terraces approached by elaborate flights of steps, the plinths often being decorated. The drums were ornamented with tiered umbrellas but otherwise these early stupas must have resembled very much those of present North Siam and Burma.

The Rajavihara at Parihasapura, one of the largest monasteries in Kashmir, built by King Lalitaditya in the 8th century A. D., consisted of a cellular quadrangle facing a rectangular courtyard in the centre of which the chaitya or temple stood. As one will see this is the prototype of innumerable similar temples in Bangkok and in many of the provinces of Siam.

To the Hindu group belong the two magnificent temples Avantīyami and Avantīvara both built by King Avantivarman (855-883 A. D.), a contemporary of King Jayavarman II, Paramesvara, the Usurper of the Cambodian throne. These two temples are fine examples of the very best in the Brahmantical style and, if not so ruined by man, would be worthy equals to some of the best preserved temples of the classical style in Cambodia. The resemblance between the two styles would be striking were it not for the roofs of the sanctuaries the shape of which, as already said, represented quite different conceptions.

As in Cambodia large finely dressed stones were used for the temples, but, unlike the Khmer, the Kashmir architects used lime mortar though the stability was assured by the massiveness of the blocks and, as also in Cambodia, by the use of iron clamps. The stone carvings were often covered with a gypsum plaster, probably painted. This is again another common trait with Khmer, and Thai architecture and style.

The most characteristic feature of this Hindu Kashmirian style is the majestic colonnades which encompass the temples and their courts and which, in their heyday, must have presented a true feast for the eye with their delicately fluted columns.

The Martand temple is the greatest and most finished of all Kashmir's mediæval Hindu temples. It was dedicated to the Sun and probably built by the middle of the 8th century A. D. by King Lalitaditya. The central sanctuary was 75 feet high. An identical trait with Siamese temple construction is found here, viz. prior to the construction of the present temple there was another though smaller one but instead of destroying the base of this older temple it was enveloped by a new one on which the new temple was built. In

Siam, in Wat Mahathat in Nakhon Sridharmaraj and in Phrapathom, we find the same procedure adopted, though in these cases the *whole* monument is enveloped by a new construction. The grand stupa in Phrapathom in fact contains no less than *two* older monuments, a stupa and a prang. Further common traits with the Khmer architecture consist in many of the temples not being finished, either in construction or ornamentation. Worth noting is also the fact that at the corners of the walls ( galleries ) of the Buniar temple two cells are opening outwards. The same idea is more or less found in the Panom Wan temple situated near the town of Korat.

At the end of the 13th century A. D., Hindu art and architecture in Kashmir were in full degeneration, caused by the incessant intestine warfare between the kings and their land and power grabbing feudal lords. The result of this suicidal fighting was the downfall of the national religion, the national art and the national dynasty, and the triumph of Islam.

Kashmir is the land of lakes and pure streams with which are connected many popular beliefs and myths. The Naga's country is here, and the tales of how angry Naga kings wreaked their revenge on sinful towns by drowning them out resemble so much similar tales of the origin of our two large inland lakes, Nong Han Kumphawapi and Nong Han Sakol Nakon (Udon Circle), that one is tempted to believe in a certain relationship.

Pandit Ram Chandra Kak's book contains, of course, much more interesting material than that mentioned here. He thus gives the political history of Kashmir from the great emperor Açoka's time to our days, and his descriptions of the Grand Moghul's wonderful gardens is well worth reading. In the above I have only endeavoured to cull a little here and there which may or may not prove of interest for students of Khmer-Thai architecture.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, February 1934.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES, *Nāḥānaḥ-Tittha Maṅgala, The River-bathing Ceremony in Siam*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VI, part 4, p.957-962.

La cérémonie *Nahāna titha māṅgala*, plus connue sous son nom vulgaire *lông sông* (လံာ်ဆံ), est, comme on sait, célébrée en l'honneur d'un prince *Câu Fa* que le roi veut particulièrement honorer (en fait, du prince héritier seulement), lorsque le moment est venu de lui remettre la tablette d'or où son nom officiel est gravé. M. Qu. W. n'avait fait que mentionner cette cérémonie dans son intéressant et utile ouvrage *Siamese State Ceremonies*. L'article publié dans le BSOS est sans doute destiné à combler cette lacune. Sur l'origine de la cérémonie, M. Qu. W. se borne à reprendre les idées émises, il y a une trentaine d'années, par G. E. Gerini dans son livre touffu sur la cérémonie de la tonsure. Il nous donne ensuite une description de la cérémonie, telle qu'elle a été célébrée pour la première fois à Bangkok en 1813<sup>(1)</sup>, en l'honneur du prince Mongkut. Cette description, qui occupe la plus grande partie de l'article, est empruntée à *l'Histoire du Second Règne* de S. A. R. le prince Dāmrong. On ne peut que féliciter M. Qu. W. pour la fidélité de sa traduction.

Nous ne voyons qu'une erreur à relever, p. 960. Il n'est pas question dans le texte siamois de "boats with crocodile figureheads", mais de bateaux montés par des chasseurs de crocodiles (ဥဉ္ဇာပုဉ္ဏကုဉ္ဏ). D'autre part, à la page suivante, l'instant propice, 7h.18m, est marqué, non pas par l'oblation du *hora*, mais par le battement du Gong de la Victoire, le bruit des conques etc. C'est à ce moment-là que le jeune prince est conduit par le roi à l'"escalier d'argent" où le reçoit le prince *Câu Fa Krôm Khôn Içarānuraksa* (qui était alors Second Roi). Enfin les mots "dressed in Indian style" traduisent peut-être exactement l'expression ကုဉ္ဏိယဝတ်စုံ, mais évoquent assez mal le costume revêtu par le prince. Ces légères inexactitudes n'enlèvent rien de sa valeur au travail de M. Qu. W. On voudrait surtout indiquer ici un ensemble de documents qui paraissent avoir échappé à l'auteur de l'article.

Il n'y eut pas de *lông sông* durant le règne de *Prah Nāng Klāu*,

(1) M. Qu. W., trompé par l'écart de trois mois entre le jour de l'an siamois et le jour de l'an chrétien, place cette cérémonie en 1812. Il n'a pas pris garde qu'elle avait eu lieu le quatrième mois, c'est-à-dire à la fin de l'année siamoise, alors que la nouvelle année chrétienne était déjà commencée. Le vendredi, quatrième jour de la lune croissante du quatrième mois de l'année du Singe 1174 C. S., premier jour de la cérémonie, correspond au 5 Mars 1813.



faute de princes *Čâu Fa*. Son successeur, le roi Mongkut, ne la fit pas célébrer non plus, probablement pour ne pas conférer à ses enfants un honneur dont son frère, le Second Roi, avait été privé. Il faut attendre jusqu'en Janvier 1887 pour voir se répéter la cérémonie ressuscitée en 1813. Elle eut lieu en l'honneur du prince héritier *Čâu Fa Mahāvajirunhiça*, qui entra dans sa neuvième année. Ce prince mourut huit ans après. Son frère, le *Čâu Fa Mahāvajirāvadha* (le futur roi Rāma VI), avait alors dépassé l'âge du *lông sông*, de telle sorte que, depuis 1887 jusqu'à nos jours, l'occasion de renouveler la cérémonie ne s'est plus présentée. S'il reste peu de documents concernant le *lông sông* du prince Mongkut, on dispose d'une information assez abondante sur la cérémonie de 1887, qui n'a été, bien entendu, qu'une copie de la première, mais sur une aussi grande échelle. En dehors des relations officielles et des récits publiés dans les journaux, qu'il est facile de retrouver, la Section photographique de l'Institut Royal possède quelques vues excellentes du Mandapa flottant construit à cette occasion, ainsi que de la scène environnante. On signale aussi qu'il existe au Musée une reproduction en miniature de ce même Mandapa qui est un joli travail d'orfèvrerie. Grâce à ces documents nouveaux, on est à même de saisir, mieux que par la lecture des circulaires de la Cour, toute la magnificence, et aussi tout le pittoresque, de cette cérémonie, qui, pour l'éclat, ne le cède qu'au couronnement.

R. L.

BENGTOSH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., PH. D., ETC., *An introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, 1 vol., 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 184 pp., 12 pl., Oxford University Press, 1932.

It has been the considered opinion of some scholars that Buddhism is a system of philosophy rather than a religion chiefly on account of its lack of the Deity and the consequent absence of Communion. It has on the other hand been classed as a mysticism, an esoterism and even an idolatry. The Siamese Buddhist may perhaps alleviate his feeling of annoyance at such divergent judgments by telling himself that truth too is many-sided. Buddhism, as is well-known, has undergone many vicissitudes during its long and, let us hope, useful life. Just as it took for granted much of the contemporary beliefs and institu-

tions and adopted much to suit its own ends—very often retaining just the old phraseology to describe something fundamentally different (e.g. the "Three Vedas" in the *Tevijja Sutta* of the *Digha Nikāya*)—so, as time went on, the process became repeated within its own circle. An example of this latter process may be found in the very developments of Buddhism forming the subject matter of this work. Buddhism may therefore seem to be highly self-contradictory, unless its stages of development are kept clearly in view. An historical criticism is consequently of much importance.

Dr. Bhattacharyya has set out with erudition to prove that Buddhism and even the Buddha accepted tenets which we now call Tantrism; that the Hindu species of it, though regarded hitherto as the source and form of Tantrism, has been mainly influenced by Buddhist Tantric worship; and, most important of all, that "Tantric culture is the greatest of all cultures, because it aims at the spiritual perfection and psychic development of man, and as such.....is the greatest contribution made by India towards the World's civilisation." His book shows a complete mastery of his data, but as for deductions it is not altogether easy to accept them. After tracing the history of Buddhism from the life time of its Founder, the author goes on to prove at every stage of its development the existence of "Buddhist Magic" which became emphasized with the rise of Vajirayāna. Prominent authors of Tantrism in its most flourishing period (7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era) are dealt with, together with the aims and objects, the tenets, the procedure for worship, the deities and the Pantheon. The author goes on to sketch the influence of Buddhist Tantrism on Hinduism with a final chapter of conclusions.

With his history and description of Buddhism, its philosophy and its literature, I can say nothing more than what I have already said, that he has a complete mastery of his data. It would be hard to expect a clearer or more erudite exposition of Tantrism, which most scholars have unfortunately shunned "as if it were a repugnant disease." As rightly argued by the learned author, "someone should therefore take up the study comprising the diagnosis, aetiology, pathology, and prognosis of the disease, so that more capable men may take up its treatment and eradication..." In diagnosis, however, one cannot lay too much stress on the historical method. To detect the presence of magic among the belief of contemporaries of the Buddha is one thing, but to accept data as to the Master's utterances ratifying Tantric worship and philosophy is quite another. It



seems difficult, indeed, to rely on the evidence of the *Guhyasamāja* and attribute to the Buddha the "saying to the congregation of the faithful" that he did not preach the Tantric system when born as former Buddhas because the people were not sufficiently enlightened (p. 19). Still less would the critic using historical methods of deduction care to lay down the dictum that "A clever organiser, as Buddha was, he did not fail to notice the importance of incorporating magical practices in his religion to make it popular from all points of view . . . ." (p. 49). It seems difficult also to deduce the acceptance of Magic by the Buddha from his references to it as examples of profanity (*Brahmajāla Sutta*), and very much more so indeed to deduce from the mention of these esoteric sciences (as being crooked) that there were many more which were not so and that "these he must have incorporated into his religion" (pp. 19-20). Again, as quoted from the *Vinaya Pitaka*, the Buddha's disapproval of his disciples' performances of miracles (pp. 20-21) was taken to signify the presence of Buddhist Magic. Should we indeed regard the pagan cults of Rome as "esoteric Christianity" because they existed contemporaneously with the latter religion? For those acquainted with Buddhism of the so-called *Hinayāna* school, it is hard to accept such generalisations. True indeed one finds a great deal of animism even among modern educated Buddhists of that school, but no one can call it Buddhist, in the same way as one would not attribute the throwing of grains and slippers after a Christian wedding to the Founder of Christianity.

With the above reservations the book can be recommended as an erudite exposition of a hitherto little known system of religion which has been thereby rendered full justice.

D.

*The Jātaka, a complete translation into Siamese.* Published under the general editorship of the Royal Institute and printed at various presses. Bangkok, 23 vol. 8 vo, 1904-1931.

Although voluminous literature in Pali and Siamese exists in Siam on the subject of Buddhism from the pens of indigenous writers many of whom belonged to the period of literary activity in Chiang-mai some four centuries ago, comparatively few translations from the Canon—the *Tripitaka*—have been made. The *Vinaya Pitaka* cer-



tainly has been translated for the practical reason that the large and flourishing Clergy is governed by its regulations. Prince Vajirañāṇa was responsible, through his leadership of the Mahamakut College, for the translation of many parts of the great Nikāyas of the Sutta Piṭaka; and certain parts of the Abhidhamma have been translated. Now in the Sutta Piṭaka, there is, as every student knows, a division of the smaller works. Of these some have become very popular in Siam, such as the Dhammapada. Parts of the Jātaka too are very well known. The Vessantara Jātaka for instance has been much translated, and has exercised the greatest influence upon the thought and culture of past generations of Siamese. Proof of its influence and fame may be found anywhere: in Literature, where references thereto abound; in Art, where one can almost invariably find it painted on the interior walls of a 'bot' between the windows to the right and left of the altar; in social life, where one comes across big and gay crowds in their 'Sunday best' gathered together to listen to the reading of the Mahāchāt in festooned halls within monastic precincts. One will find even a special code of etiquette for the decorations and presents for these occasions. The Jātaka as a whole has however never been translated into Siamese.

In 1904 King Chulalongkorn decided upon a complete translation of the work, for reasons which he fully set forth in a preface to the first instalment published in that year in memory of His elder daughter, the late Princess of Suphan. From this preface we learn that the custom, now happily prevalent, of distributing books at cremations, was then just commencing. His late Majesty secured the co-operation of the above named Supreme Patriarch and the clergy and some interested laymen who were responsible for the translation of the first instalment. This consisted of the initial thirty stories of the Eka Nipāta (collection of stories based on single verses).

The whole series consists of 546 stories, in 22 "collections." King Chulalongkorn's death in 1910 caused the work to stop temporarily, but in 1911 it was decided to push on with the work, as a tribute to His memory. Under the title of นิบาตชาดก (Nipāta Jātaka), it took 20 years to translate and publish the whole work, since no particular fund was allotted therefor. When any person wanted a book for distribution on some occasion such as a cremation, application was made to the Royal Institute. This institution took up the task of general editing through the interest of Prince Damrong, its president,

who had been one of the collaborators in the editorial staff from the start. The Institute would then supply an instalment for publication which would be financed by the applicant. Hence the work went along gradually through the reign of King Rama VI and was only concluded in 1931, the publication of the last instalment being financed by His present Majesty. The King has thereby fitly brought to a close the work planned by His August Father. At the commencement of the task, instalments of varying sizes were published in accordance with the individual tastes and means of those who wished to finance them. For the sake however of uniformity the work was then reconsidered and rearranged, and in parts retranslated and a new scheme of editing was adopted. In this rearrangement three well known scholars in the Royal Institute succeeded one another as editors: namely, Phya Phochana Sunthorn; and at his death, Phra Rājābhiron; and then when the latter retired, Phra Phinich, the present Secretary of the Royal Institute, who has brought the work to its consummation. The whole work is now divided into 22 instalments, the identical number by the way of the "collections", although an instalment does not necessarily consist of a whole collection, and several instalments were made up of two. The text of the Jātaka used for translation here is naturally the standard Siamese version which is already well known to international scholars through the two Royal editions of the Canon. Differences of concordance are not noted in all cases, much depending upon the translator's inclinations. As these translators numbered 76 (30 of the clergy and 46 laymen), not a little can be found by way of divergencies of treatment. The two editions thus run parallel in many parts; and a list of smaller instalments not conforming to the regular size as adopted in the 2nd edition will be found in pages 168-170 of the report forming Part XXIII of the main edition.

In bringing their editorial work to a close the Royal Institute have published a kind of a report called Part XXIII (ฉบับรายงานการพิมพ์พระไตรปิฎกฉบับใหม่) in which are to be found the following:—

- (1) A Pali dedication in honour of His late Majesty, the initiator of the work, written by the Right Reverend Somdech Phra Buddhagosa of Wat Debasirindra, with a Siamese translation. The dedication is in the name of the translators and publishers.
- (2) King Chulalongkorn's preface referred to above.
- (3) King Chulalongkorn's memorandum on the stories of the Jātaka.



This was written to reconcile on the one hand the modern 'scientific' mind with ancient fable literature which had contributed not a little to our past culture; and on the other hand to try to reason with the conservative mind of devotion, presumably existing then, which considered any criticism of the Pali to be blasphemy; and in either case to have them recognise the Jātaka's place in literature.

(4) Details of the 22 instalments and those responsible for their translations and publications. Among the former will be found all the higher dignitaries of the Buddhist Church in the last twenty years together with other ecclesiastics and laymen. Of the latter are names of Their Royal Highnesses the late Prince Sommot and the late Prince of Chantaburi; Mom Chao Prom, whose work on the 13<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the Vessantara Jātaka bears marks of extensive research work among Pali commentaries and old Siamese translations of this Birth-story dating back some 400 years. Names that stand out for hard work are those of Phra Phinich, the present Secretary of the Royal Institute; Phra Rājābhrom, and Luang Dhamrong Chetiyarath. Among those responsible for the publication, i.e., those who provided funds, are many of the Royal Family and the nobles with a few others as well as members of the Clergy.

(5) Detailed table of contents of each instalment, with summaries of every Birth-story.

(6) Index of names with additional indices of names of plants and animals.

This translation of the great work into Siamese occupying approximately some four thousand pages of print deserves recognition. Its place in Siamese literature may be compared to the translation of the Mangalattha-Dīpanī, in 1821, under the initiative and patronage of King Rama III. There is additional interest in the fact that this latter work was originally written in Pali in Chiengmai by the Rev. Sirimangala in 1524 A. D.—42 years after the earliest (yet found) translation into Siamese of the Vessantara Jātaka.

D.



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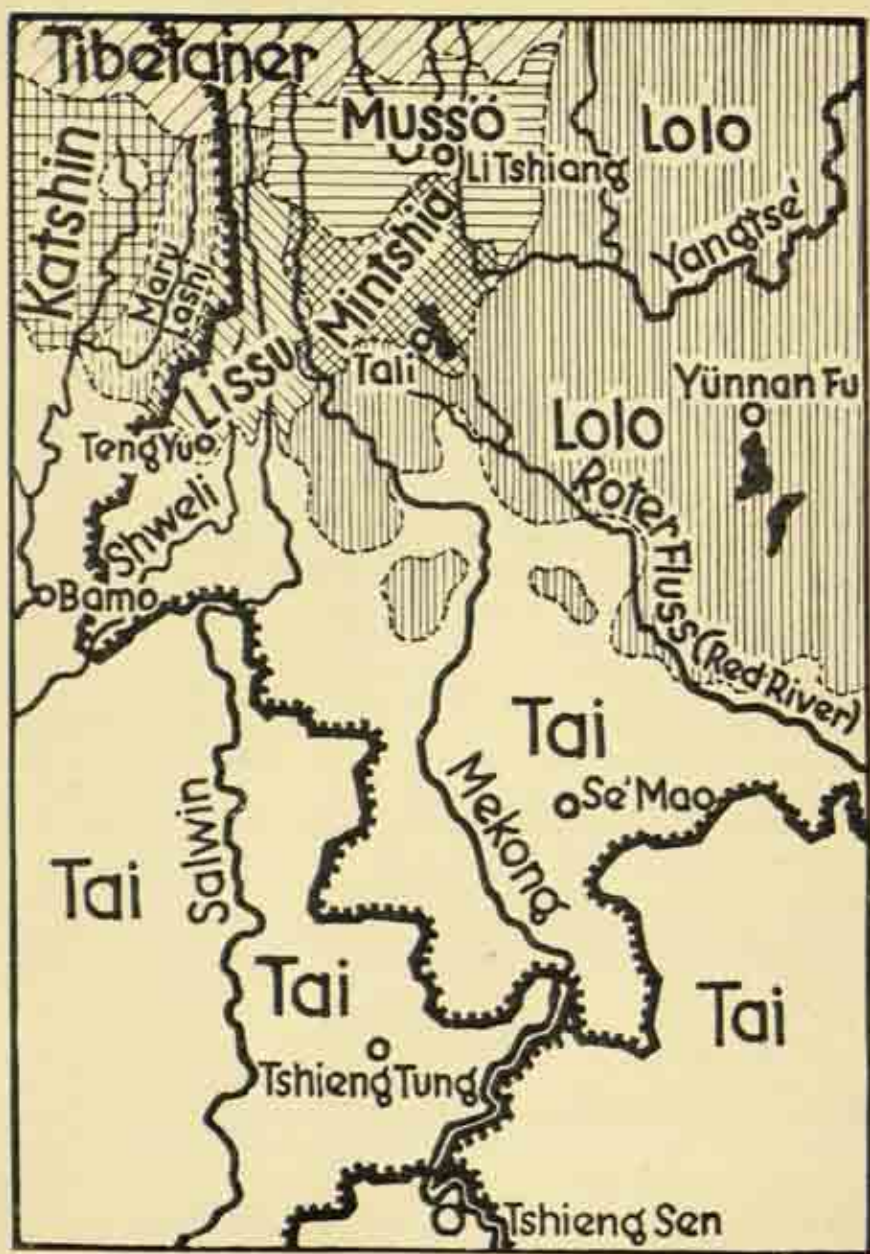


Abb. 1. Verteilung der wichtigsten Völker im Wurzelgebiete Hinterindiens.



KULTURGEOGRAPHISCHE BEOBACHTUNGEN IN DER  
LANDSCHAFT UM TALI (YÜNNAN) MIT BESONDERER BERÜCKSICH-  
TIGUNG DES NAN TSAO PROBLEMS.

VON

PROFESSOR DR. W. CREDNER.

Im Sommer 1930 führte der Verfasser eine von der Sun Yatsen Universität in Canton veranstaltete Studienreise von vierwöchentlichiger Dauer durch die Gebirgsprovinz Yünnan. Sie nahm ihren Ausgang von der Hauptstadt der Provinz Yünnanfu, das vom jungen China nach dem Führer des ersten Chinesischen Heerzuges aus der Zeit der Han Dynastie, der um 225 n. Chr. das Yünnanesische Gebirgland erreichte, den Namen Kun Ming erhalten hat. Die Reise ging auf dem Hauptkarawanenweg nach Burma zunächst durch den mehr plateauartigen Osten der Provinz nach Tali an den Ufern des grossen Sees Erh Hai in wunderbar schöner, von hohen Gebirgen umrahmter Ebene gelegen. Von dort folgte sie weiter der Strasse durch den stark gebirgigen Westen der Provinz, querte die steil eingeschnittenen Täler des Mekong (Lan Tsan Tshiang der Chinesen) und des Salwin (Lu Tshiang), in dessen Talzug die nördlichsten Ausläufer des westyünnanesischen Siedlungsraumes der *Tai Völker* angetroffen wurden, querte noch die westlich des Lu Tshiang gelegene bis 5000m ansteigende Kette des Kao Li Kong Shan, um das Tal des Shweli (Lung Tshiang) zu erreichen. Nach abermaliger Querung des Kao Li Kong Shan ging es dann dem Talzug des Salwin nordwärts folgend durch den Siedlungsraum der Lissu und dann unter etwa 26°N Breite auf einem zweiten Profil diesmal von W nach E wieder über Lu Tshiang und Lan Tsan Tshiang bis an den Tsin Sha Tshiang, den Goldsandfluss, wie der obere Yangtse' hier heisst. Bei Tomä wurde dieser erreicht und weiter unterhalb bei Tsin

Tshiang Kai wieder verlassen und dann der Rückmarsch nach Yunnanfu in SE-Richtung angetreten.

Der Verlauf der Reise im einzelnen ist bereits 1931 im ersten Heft der Mitteilungen des Geographischen Instituts der Sun Yatsen Universität in Deutscher und Chinesischer Sprache veröffentlicht worden. Die geologisch-morphologischen Ergebnisse wurden auch noch im Jahre 1931 im zweiten Heft der Mitteilungen publiziert. Die kulturgeographischen Ergebnisse und in ihrem Rahmen die auf der Reise aufgenommenen Glossare der 8 verschiedenen Sprachen, die in dem durchreisten Gebiet angetroffen wurden, harren noch der Veröffentlichung. Eine Teilfrage, die sich aus den schon im ersten Teil des Reiseberichtes angedeuteten Beobachtungen im Gebiet von Tali ergab, soll hier gesondert behandelt werden. Sie betrifft das *Nantsao* Problem das auf Grund der in der Landschaft um Tali gemachten kulturgeographischen Beobachtungen beleuchtet werden soll.

Um die zu behandelnden Fragen in einen grösseren Rahmen zu stellen, soll zunächst die allgemeine bevölkerungsgeographische Situation des in Frage kommenden Gebiets kurz skizziert werden. Sodann sollen die Beobachtungen im engeren Gebiet um Tali vorge tragen werden und schliesslich wird der Versuch gemacht, einige Folgerungen mit Bezug auf die Nan Tsao Frage zu ziehen. Dabei ist von vornherein zu sagen, dass die extensive Art der Beobachtungen, wie sie sich eben auf solchen Reisen nur anstellen lassen, den Ergebnissen naturgemäss mehr den Charakter von Arbeitshypothesen gibt, denen mit intensiveren Untersuchungen noch weiter nachgegangen werden müsste.

Auf einer groben Kartenskizze (Abb. 1) habe ich die Grundtatsachen der heutigen Bevölkerungsverteilung im Anschluss an die hervorragenden Erkundungsarbeiten von H. R. Davies<sup>(1)</sup>, unter Benutzung der Angaben von W. C. Dodd<sup>(2)</sup> und auf Grund eigener Beobachtungen zu veranschaulichen versucht. Zu ihrem Verständnis ist jedoch eine kurze Charakterisierung der Landschaftsgestaltung des dargestellten Gebietes notwendig.

Das östliche Yunnan ist Wasserscheidengebiet zwischen rotem Fluss im Süden und Yangtse im Norden. Nur kleine Flüsse durch-

(1) H. R. Davies, *Yunnan; The link between India and the Yangtze*, Cambridge University Press, 1909.

(2) W. C. Dodd, *The Tai Race*, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1923.

ziehen es. Sie haben im Gegensatz zu den grossen Strömen ihre Betten nicht tief einzuschneiden vermocht und so tritt uns hier im östlichen Yünnan eine Landschaft mit Plateauarakter entgegen, mit nur flachem Relief also, wo auf die Plateauflächen nur wenig hohe Gebirgserhebungen aufgesetzt sind. Die Hochflächen liegen in etwa 1800–2000m Höhe. Die Täler der Flüsse, die sich vielfach flache Beckenweitungen geschaffen haben, greifen selten mehr als 200m unter diese Flächenniveaus herunter und die Höhenzüge, die den Flächen aufgesetzt sind, übersteigen selten die Höhe von 2400m. Die Grenze dieser Plateaulandschaft liegt etwa im Zuge der Talung des roten Flusses, verläuft im grossen also von Tali nach SE. Westlich dieser Linie tritt ein anderer Typ der Oberflächengestaltung auf. Die Täler des Roten Flusses, des Mekong und des Salwin sind hier tief eingeschnitten und zwar liegen ihre Böden fast überall unter 1000m. Mit ihnen haben sich auch die Nebenflüsse in ihren Unterläufen eingetieft. Das Relief ist also weit kräftiger entwickelt. Eine echte Gebirgslandschaft mit N-S streichenden Wasserscheidenketten, die bis zu 4000m Höhe erreichen, kennzeichnet den Westen Yünnans. Gerade an der Grenze zwischen beiden Landschaftstypen liegt die Ebene von Tali. Der Spiegel des Erh Hai liegt annähernd 2000 m hoch. Ganz flach steigen die Uferebenen an und steil erhebt sich aus ihnen im W die 4300 m hohe Kette des Tien Tshang Shan, während die Ketten im Osten der Ebene nur bis zu 3000 m ansteigen.

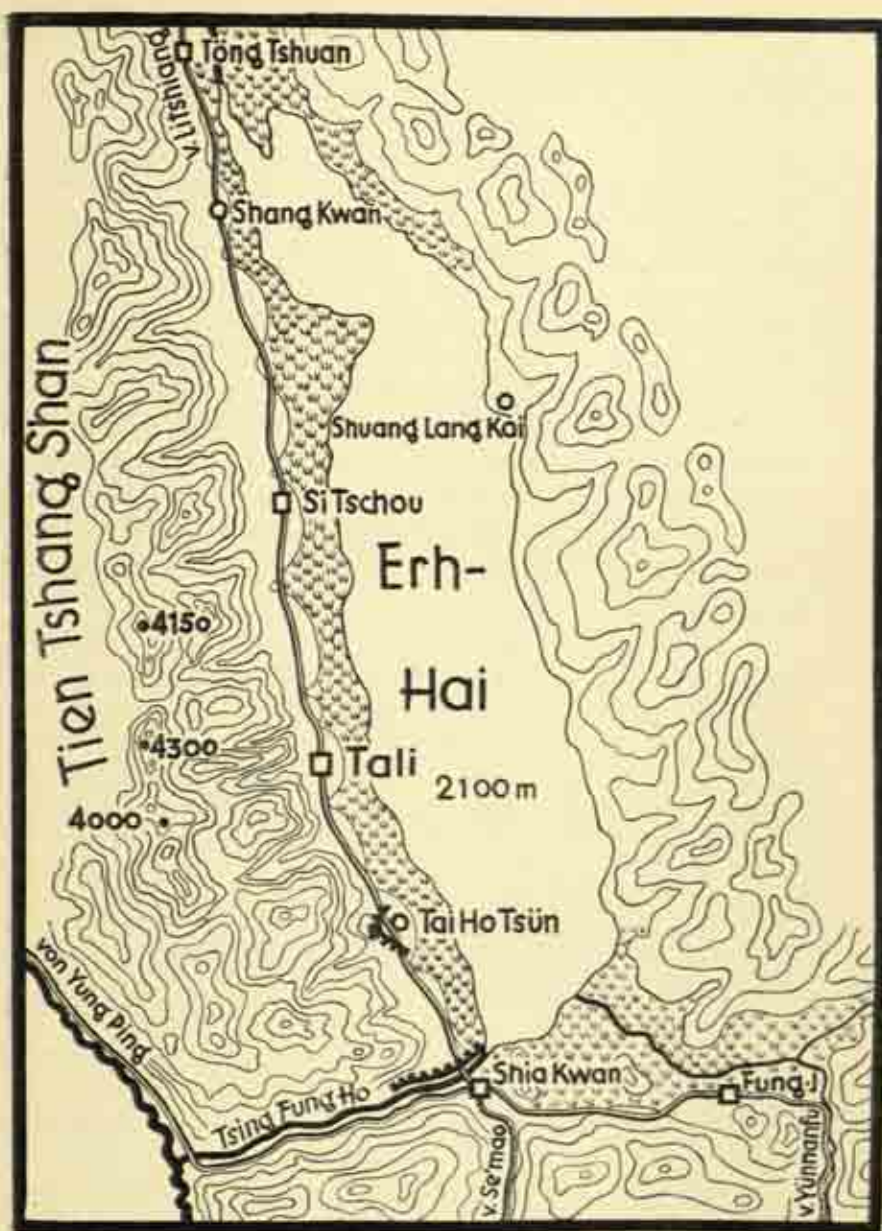
In engem Zusammenhang mit diesen Grundzügen der Landschaftsgestaltung steht nun die heutige Verteilung der Tai in Yünnan. Sie fehlen auf dem östlichen Yünnanplateau fast ganz, treten hier nur in einigen kleinen Inseln auf. Ihr eigentliches Verbreitungsgebiet ist der SW, südwestlich der Linie Tali-Roter Fluss. Sie sind also in ihrer Verbreitung gebunden an die Gebirgslandlandschaft des SW, aber nicht etwa des Gebirgscharakters wegen, sondern weil nur in diesem Gebiet die Täler so tief eingeschnitten sind, dass sie bis in tropische Klimabereiche hinabführen. Die *tropischen Täler* also stellen die Lebensräume der Tai im ganzen SW Yünnans dar. Sie sind die Bewohner der tropischen Talebenen, in denen sie ihren Bewässerungsreisbau zu treiben vermögen, während in den Gebirgen zwischen den Tälern andere Völker leben, die wir als die Bergvölker Yünnans bezeichnen wollen. Selbst in der Ebene um Tali fehlen heute Tai vollkommen und werden aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach nie die Bevölkerung dieser 2000 m hoch gelegenen Ebene gestellt haben. Den nördlichsten Ausläufer der heutigen Verbreitung der Tai trafen



wir in gleicher geographischer Breite wie Tali weiter westlich im Tal des Salwin bei dem kleinen Marktflecken Man In an, dort aber in nur 800 m Höhe, bis zu der das Tal dort zwischen den 3500 m hohen Ketten des Kao Li Kong Shan und des Pi Lu Shan eingeschnitten ist.

Haben wir so das Verbreitungsgebiet der in den Tälern wohnenden Tai umrissen, so soll hier auch ganz kurz die Verbreitung der übrigen Yunnan-Völker behandelt werden. Dabei muss ich mich auf die wichtigsten von ihnen beschränken. Sehen wir von den erst in junger Zeit eingewanderten Chinesen ab, so gehört die Hauptmasse der ursprünglichen Bevölkerung Yünnans der tibetoburmanischen Völkergruppe zu, die durch die Lolo, Lissu, Nashi (Mussö) und Lahu vertreten sind, von denen die ersteren drei grossräumige Gebiete bewohnen, während die letzteren, die Lahu, die in den Gebirgen des südwestlichen Yunnan verstreut wohnen, hier nur deshalb genannt werden, weil sie ihre südlichsten Ausläufer bis in die Berge des nördlichen Siam aussenden, wo sie als Mussö bezeichnet werden<sup>(1)</sup>. Die Verbreitung der drei Hauptvertreter der tibetoburmanischen Völker geht aus der Kartenskizze I hervor, die deutlich zeigt, dass die Lolo von Setshuan her den ganzen Osten Yünnans, also das *Yünnanplateau* bewohnen und von hier aus in südwestlicher Richtung in den Gebirgen auch noch über die Linie Tali-Roter Fluss hinübergreifen. Weiter im SW herrscht dann in den Gebirgen, also in der Siedlungsschicht über den Tai grosse Völkerverwirrung. Dort finden sich in zahllosen Splintern die austroasiatischen Palaung, La und Wa, die tibetoburmanischen Lahu und Woni, dazu auch kleine Gruppen von Miao und Yao. Erst weiter im Norden, nördlich etwa 25° N Br. finden sich wieder Gebiete mehr einheitlicher Besiedlung. Im Westen in den Gebirgen um Salwin und Mekong die Lissu, weiter im Norden zwischen Mekong und Yangtse die Nashi, die wie gesagt von den Chinesen als Mussö bezeichnet werden. Zwischen den drei grossen Gebieten der Lissu, Nashi und Lolo liegt nun ein Raum, der vom Südrand des Beckens von Tali nordwärts bis fast nach Li Tshiang reicht und der vom Stamme der Mintshia bewohnt wird. Mintshia sind also heute die Bewohner der Landschaft um Tali und ihnen hat unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu gelten. Wer sind sie? In welchem Verhältnis stehen sie zu den

(1) Sie sind also nicht zu verwechseln mit den Nashi, die von den Yunnan-Chinesen ebenfalls als Mussö genannt werden.



Abh. 2. Kartenskizze der Landschaft um Tali.  
(Maßstab ca. 1 zu 600 000)





übrigen Völkern? Seit wann sitzen sie in der Landschaft um Tali? Wie lässt sich ihr Auftreten im Becken von Tali mit der Annahme des Taikönigreiches Nan Tsao in Einklang bringen?

Neben diesen wichtigsten ursprünglichen Komponenten ist dann aber für die Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung Yünnans naturgemäss vor allem das Chinesentum von Bedeutung. Die Chinesen sind als Eroberer gekommen, der erste kriegerische Einfall nach Yünnan erfolgte im Jahre 225 n. Chr. in der auf die Han Dynastie folgenden Zeit der drei Reiche und zwar vom westlichen derselben aus, vom Reich Shu, dessen Hauptstadt Tshöngtu in Se'tshuan war. Die nächsten Vorstösse des Chinesentums erfolgten erst in der Zeit der Tang Dynastie also über 500 Jahre später. Die Vorstösse der Tangzeit nun waren es, die hier auf einen widerstandsfähigen Gegner, auf das Tai Königreich Nan Tsao stiessen, das mehrere Angriffe zurückschlug. Dieses Königreich war in der Zeit der Regierung des Kaisers der Tang Dynastie Shüan hung (713-755) von dem Tai-Fürsten Piloko (728-748) zusammengefasst worden. Piloko war ursprünglich Fürst des Taifürstentums Mōng She' gewesen, des südlichsten von sechs damals im südlichen Yunnan bestehenden Tai-Staaten. Nach dieser südlichen Lage aber wurde die neue Herrschaft Nan Tsao oder das Südreich genannt.<sup>(1)</sup> Die Hauptstadt wurde von Piloko ausserhalb seines Stammesgebietes in die reiche Ebene des heutigen Tali verlegt und zwar an einen Platz Tai-Ho-Tsheng 8 km südlich von Tali zwischen dem Ufer des Erh Hai und dem steilen Gebirgsanstieg des Tien Tshang Shan (siehe Abb. 2). Das Tsheng dieses Namens ist wahrscheinlich das ins Chinesische transskribierte Tshiang der Tai Sprachen mit der Bedeutung einer befestigten Stadt. Heute heisst der Ort Tai Ho Tsün. Tsün ist Chinesisch Dorfsiedlung. Mit dem Verfall des Ortes und seiner seit langem erfolgten Überführung in den Dorfcharakter hat sich der Name offenbar geändert. Diese Lage war deshalb günstig, weil der Ort hier einmal an der grossen Verkehrsstrasse lag, die von Norden aus dem Land der Tufan d. h. der Tibeter südwärts führte und zweitens weil er geeignet war die E-W Strasse, die am Südufer des Tali-Sees vorbeiführte und im Engpass von Tien

(1) A. Rosthorn, *Geschichte Chinas*. Stuttgart-Gotha, 1923 S. 119. Die Geschichte der Gründung von Nan Tsao enthält auch die Einleitung der Chinesischen Geschichte von Nan Tsao: Yang Shen, Nan Tsao Se Bd. I. Jahr des ersten Erscheinens 1550.

Tshang Tshiao die Kette des Tien Tshang Shan querte, gegen Angriffe der Tibeter von Norden her zu decken. Es war also offenbar eine besonders günstige strategische Lage, in der die neue Hauptstadt angelegt wurde mit der Absicht die wichtige Kreuzung der beiden Haupthandelswege und damit den wichtigsten Verkehrs-Knotenpunkt Yünnans zu beherrschen und gegen den Gegner im Norden zu sichern.

Drohten die Tibeter von Norden, so benutzten die Chinesen die zweite, von E her um das Südende des Sees von Tali (Erh Hai) herumziehende Strasse. Die Entscheidungsschlacht des Jahres 751, in der König Ko Lo Fong (748–778) der Sohn Pilokos den Feldherrn Li Pi des Tang Reiches besiegte und sein Heer vernichtete, fand denn auch an der von Osten her kommenden Strasse am Südende des Sees statt, in der Landschaft also, die auf Abbildung 3 wiedergegeben ist. In Tai Ho Tsün befindet sich noch heute der Gedenkstein, den König Ko Lo Fong zur Erinnerung an diesen Sieg Nan Tsaos hat errichten lassen. (Abb. 4).

Die Heerzüge der Chinesen und die Einfälle der Truppen Nan Tsaos in Chinesische Gebiete, noch mehr aber die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen beiden Reichen haben naturgemäss auch zu weitgehenden kulturellen Beeinflussungen geführt. Wir wissen von Verträgen mit China, von Chinesischen Literaten, die am Hofe von Nan Tsao als Berater lebten, von Gesandtschaften die zwischen Nan Tsao und China ausgetauscht wurden. Chinesische Kunst und Literatur wurden am Hofe von Nan Tsao gepflegt. Im 9ten Jahrhundert ist die Macht des Königreiches nach erfolgreichen Vorstössen bis nach Tongking so gross, dass der König Yulung, dessen Reich von Assam bis nach Tongking reichte (859) den Titel eines Kaisers von Tali annahm<sup>(1)</sup>.

Die Landschaft in der die Hauptstadt Nan Tsaos einst gelegen hat, bezeichnen wir am besten als das Becken von Tali (Abb. 2). Es handelt sich in der Tat um eine tektonische Beckenbildung, ein Senkungsfeld zwischen höheren Rahmengebieten, von denen vor allem die das Becken im Westen begrenzende Kette des Tien Tshang Shan nicht weniger als 4300 m Höhe erreicht. Die tektonischen Bewegungen sind auch heute noch nicht zum Abschluss gekommen. Noch heute suchen immer wieder schwere Erdbeben das Gebiet heim. Als Verfasser die Landschaft besuchte, zeugten in allen Ortschaften

<sup>(1)</sup> A. Rosthorn, *Geschichte Chinas*, 1923, S. 119.



Abb. 3. Landschaft am Südende des Sees von Tali von E. her gesehen. Im Hintergrund die 4.300 m hohe Kette des Tien Tschau Shan, mit der Talkerbe, durch die der Abfluss des Erh Hai seinen Weg zum Mekong nimmt. Links im Vordergrund die uralte Hauptverkehrsstrasse nach Burma, an der vor dem Eintritt in das Kerbtal (hinter den Hügeln im Mittelgrund) der Marktfort Shin Kwan gelegen ist. Diese Landschaft ist also der Schauplatz der Schlacht von Shin Kwan im Jahre 751.

(Aufnahme Crechuer, Juli 1930.)





die Trümmer von Gebäuden, in Tali und Shia Kwan sogar die Trümmer ganzer Stadtteile von der Gewalt der letzten grossen Beben, die das Gebiet im Jahre 1925 betroffen hatten.

Das zwischen den beiden Gebirgsketten liegende Becken ist zum grössten Teil vom Erh Hai, dem Tali-See eingenommen, der sich von Norden nach Süden über 43,3 km erstreckt bei einer durchschnittlichen Breite von 7 km. Die östliche Uferlinie greift unmittelbar in die Tälehen herein, die die Hänge des Gebirges zergliedert. Es ist daher hier kein Raum zur Entwicklung von Siedlungen und deren Feldflächen vorhanden. Siedlungsleer steigen die Gebirgshänge unmittelbar aus dem See an. Anders auf der Westseite des Sees. Hier hat sich vor dem Anstieg des Tien Tshang Shan ein 2-4 km breiter Streifen von flachem Aufschüttungsland entwickelt, der langsam vom Gebirgsfuss her gegen den See abfällt. Dieses Flachland ist in Gebirgsnähe aus den groben Schottermassen aufgebaut, die die kleinen vom Gebirge herunterkommenden Flüsse hier in Form von Schuttkegeln aufgebaut haben. Je weiter vom Gebirge fort, desto niedriger wird das Land. Das Material wird feiner und bildet einen 1-3 km breiten Streifen besten, leicht bewässerbaren Reisbodens, der unmittelbar bis zu den versumpften Ufern des Sees hinunterleitet. So tritt uns hier auf der Westseite des bis 100 m tiefen Sees eine klare Dreigliederung der Landschaft entgegen. Von West nach Ost folgen sich aufeinander: steiler von engen Kerbtälern zerschnittener Gebirgsabfall, bedeckt von Nadelwäldern, in denen in den unteren Teilen Kiefern (*Pinus Yunnanensis*) vorherrschen, während sich darüber bis 4000 m Höhe fast undurchdringbare Wälder von Tannen (*Abies Delavayii*) und Rhododendron an den steilen, tief zerkerbten Hängen hinaufziehen. An diesen Gebirgsabfall schliesst sich die Zone der Schuttkegel an, bedeckt mit Grasland, das zweifellos durch Entwaldung entstanden ist und als Weidegebiet für Pferde, Maultiere, Esel und Ziegen benutzt wird. Hier sind die Böden verhältnismässig trocken und so zieht durch diese Zone die uralte Verkehrsstrasse, auf der sich auch heute noch ein lebhafter Karawanenverkehr von Pferde- Maultier- und Eselkarawanen abspielt. An dieser Strasse aufgereiht liegen auch die grösseren Ortschaften, im Süden am Süende des Sees, am Südufer seines Abflusses, des Tsing Tung Ho, der grosse Markttort Shia Kwan (unteres Tor), dann 7,5 km nördlich davon das grosse Dorf Tai Ho Tsün, das uns noch beschäftigen wird; weitere 8 km nach Norden dann das umwallte heutige Tali. 12 km nördlich von diesem liegt

ein heute kleiner Marktflecken Si Tsiou. Dieser Ort hat einst weit grössere Bedeutung gehabt. Er war es, der zur Zeit der Tang Dynastie den Namen Tali trug und Residenz der Könige von Tali war, nachdem diese Tai Ho Tsheng als Hauptstadt aufgegeben hatten. Dann folgt Shang Kwan das "obere Tor" im Gegensatz zum südlichen Shia Kwan dem "unteren Tor", eine Enge von strategischer Bedeutung, der Verteidigung der Ebene gegen Norden dienend. Schliesslich am Nordrand der Ebene gelegen, da wo von Norden kommend der Hauptzufluss des Sees ein weites fruchtbares Deltaland in diesem aufgeschüttet hat, Tüng Tshuan, eine reiche Landstadt, dem seit dem Erdbeben 1925 noch teilweise in Trümmern liegenden Tali durchaus ebenbürtig. Östlich an diese trockenere Schuttkegelzone mit ihrer Verkehrsstrasse und der Perlschnur der genannten Ortschaften schliesst sich dann die bis zum Ufer des Sees sich erstreckende Reisfeldebene an.

In dieser Ebene siedeln nun *Mintshia*, die sich trotz nunmehr doch sechshundertjähriger Berührung mit den Chinesen, gewisse Eigenheiten ihrer Kultur, vor allem ihre eigene Sprache erhalten haben. Die *Mintshia*, deren Siedlungsraum nördwärts bis fast nach Li Tshiang reicht und die in einer jungen Wanderbewegung nach W auch in die Siedlungsgebiete der Lissu im Mekongtal eindringen, sind zweifellos der äusseren Erscheinung vor allem der Gesichtsbildung nach der schönste Menschenschlag Yunnans. Die Merkmale der Mongoloïden, die vortretenden Jochbeine und die schräggestellte Lidspalte sind vor allem bei dem weiblichen Teil der Bevölkerung nur wenig stark ausgebildet und ein heiler Teint mit vielfach frisch geröteten Wangen gibt Frauen und Mädchen oft ein sehr liebliches Aussehen. In der Kleidung, im Hausbau, in der Anlage der Siedlungen sind sie ganz sinisiert. Sicher handelt es sich bei ihnen nicht um neue Zuwanderer, *nichts* wird in den Chinesischen sonst recht zuverlässigen Annalen über solche Wanderungen berichtet. Sie sind nicht etwa an die Stelle einer abgewanderten Taibevölkerung getreten, sondern haben auch zur Zeit der Tai Herrschaft die Masse der Bevölkerung gestellt.

Die Sprache der *Mintshia* haben wir an zwei verschiedenen Stellen aufgenommen. Ein Auszug aus dem gewonnenen Glossar wird hier zum erstenmal veröffentlicht. Das als I bezeichnete *Mintshia*-Glossar wurde am Südrand der Ebene von Tali in Shia Kwan von einem Handwerker aufgenommen, der in dem lebhaften Marktplatz in engster Gemeinschaft mit dort zugewanderten





*Abb. 4.* Gedenkstein in Tai Ho Tsin, errichtet vom König Ko Lo Fon von Nan Tsao zur Erinnerung an die Vernichtung des Chinesischen Heeres bei Shia Kwan im Jahre 751 n. Chr.

(Aufnahme Yet Hui, Juli 1930.)



Chinesen lebt. Umso überraschender ist die Übereinstimmung mit dem Glossar II, das in einem Dorfe im Mekongtal in der Nähe der Fähre von Lama Ting 130 km NW von Shia Kwan in dem am weitesten nach W vorgeschobenen Gebiet der Mintshia aufgenommen wurde. Und die Zuverlässigkeit unserer Aufnahmen wird durch das Mintshia Glossar III bewiesen, das ich den sprachlichen Aufzeichnungen von H. R. Davies entnommen habe und das bei Yün Lung etwa 100 km WNW von Shia Kwan von diesem aufgenommen wurde. Zum Vergleich habe ich ein Wortverzeichnis der Lolo Sprache beigefügt, der Stämme also, die den Siedlungsraum der Mintshia fast allseitig umgeben und schliesslich, und das ist für uns besonders wichtig, ein solches der von den Chinesen als Payi bezeichneten Tai Yunnans. Dieses wurde von uns im Tal des Salwin aufgenommen in den dort abseits der Strasse nach Burma sich findenden Siedlungen der Tai, an der fast nördlichsten Stelle der Tai-Vorkommen im westlichen Yunnan. Eindrucksvoll ist dabei die fast völlige Übereinstimmung der Sprache mit dem Siamesischen, das wir ausser der deutschen und englischen Wortfolge beifügten. Für die Sprache der Mintshia ergibt sich als wichtigstes die Tatsache, dass sie *gar keine* Verwandtschaft zeigt mit dem Tai, dass sie vielmehr viele Chinesische Elemente und zwar wahrscheinlich eines älteren Chinesisch zeigt, wie mir Prof. Haloun in Göttingen nach einer ersten Durchsicht der Glossare brieflich mitteilt, dass aber auch den Lolo Sprachen verwandte Formen nicht fehlen, worauf auch R. H. Davies schon hingewiesen hat. Die Stellung des Mintshia im System der Yunnanesischen Sprachen endgültig festzulegen wird Aufgabe weiterer linguistischer Untersuchungen sein müssen. Für uns wichtig ist auf jeden Fall die *absolut* sichere Feststellung, dass eine Verwandtschaft zu den Tai Sprachen überhaupt nicht feststellbar ist, dass auch Relikte etwa aus der Zeit, wo die Tai in Tai Ho Tsun und dem alten Tali residierten, vollkommen fehlen.

Sehr interessant ist weiter ein Vergleich der verschiedenen Formen, in denen uns der Pflanzenbau bei den verschiedenen Völkern entgegentritt. Von allen Völkern Yunnans wird der Pflug verwandt und als Zugtiere je nach der Bodenbeschaffenheit Büffel oder Rind, wobei der Büffel vor allem in den Ebenen, das Rind in den mehr gebirgigen Landschaften verwandt wird. Die Völker Yunnans sind also mit Einschluss der Lolo und der Lissu Pflughbauvölker. An steilen Hängen kommt aber auch der Grabstockbau vielfach zur Anwendung. Wenn auf Siamesischem Boden die im



nordsiamesischen Bergland siedelnden Bergvölker, die Yao und Miao, die Lahu und Lissu ausschliesslich Grabstockbau treiben, so sind diese deutliche Verarmungsformen verglichen mit der Form des Anbaus, den sie noch in Yunnan treiben. Es ist von grossem Interesse den Ursachen dieser Wandlung in der Kulturform auf der Wanderung nach dem Süden nachzugehen. Zweifellos wäre viel zur Beantwortung dieser Frage durch Befragen der Ältesten in den Dörfern der Bergvölker in Nord-Siam zu erreichen, da sich unter ihnen noch alte Leute befinden, wie z.B. der Dorfälteste des Lahu-Dorfes Ban Mussü südwestlich Muang-Nan, die noch von Norden her mit nach Siam eingewandert sind. Zur Zeit seiner Reisen in Siam war dem Verfasser diese Fragestellung noch nicht aufgegangen. Erst auf der Reise in Yunnan ergab sie sich zwangsläufig, als er dort Angehörige der gleichen Völker mit ganz anderen Wirtschaftsformen antraf. Die Verfolgung der Frage der Kulturwandlung der Völker auf der Wanderung von N nach S ist aber, wie mir scheint, von ganz prinzipiellem Interesse für die Auffassung der Entstehung der im tropischen Hinterindien auftretenden Formen des Pflanzenbaus.

Verfasser hat die in Yunnan angetroffenen Formen der Landwirtschaft, Art und Anzahl der Kultur Pflanzen und die jahreszeitliche Verteilung ihres Anbaus in einer Diagrammdarstellung in methodisch neuer Form zu veranschaulichen versucht. (Abb. 5).

Aus dieser Zusammenstellung (Gewächse wie Pfeffer und andere Gewürze, Gespinnstpflanzen wie die Baumwolle und Hanf sind nicht mit aufgeführt, weil wir für diese nicht für alle Typen Angaben einbrachten) ergeben sich mehrere Gesichtspunkte. In den Ebenen Yunnans, die alle stark von Chinesischem Einfluss durchsetzt sind, hat sich die Chinesische Landwirtschaft durchgesetzt, die nach Möglichkeit im Sommer und im Winter produziert, also eine arbeitsintensive Form des Pflanzenbaus darstellt.

Sehr deutlich weicht von diesem Typus der Pflanzenanbau der Mintshia ab, der weniger reich entwickelt ist, besonders aber der der Mintshia des Gebirges in 2500 m Höhe. Dort fallen wegen der schon niedrigeren Temperaturen die Winterkulturen aus und bei den Sommerkulturen zeigt sich andererseits bemerkenswerte Vielseitigkeit, vor allem das ausschliessliche Auftreten von Anbaupflanzen der gemässigten Zone. Wieder anders die Landwirtschaft der Lissu, die im Mekongtal die steilsten Hänge zu kultivieren verstehen. Da tritt uns offenbar als Anpassung an die an Gebirgshängen vielfach verschiedenen Bedingungen von Böden und Exposi-

Mohn Bohnen Gerste Weizen Bohnen Mais Reis																		Pflanzenbau der <b>Chinesen</b> in der Ebene von Hung Ai. 1800m.
Bohnen Gerste Weizen Hirse Reis																		<b>Mintshia</b> in der Ebene v. Tshien Tshuan 1700m
Mohn Bohnen Hafer Gerste Buchw.																		<b>Mintshia</b> im Gebirge östlich Tshien Tshuan 2500m
Bohnen Gerste Weizen Mais Buchw. Kaoliang Hirse Reis																		<b>Lissu</b> an den Hängen d. Mekongtals ca.1800m
Mais Reis																		<b>Tai</b> im Tal des Salwin 760m
Monate:	Mz	Ap	M	Jn	Jl	Au	S	O	N	D	Jr	F	Mz	Ap	M	Jn		
	<b>Sommerfrucht</b>								<b>Winterfrucht</b>								<b>Volksstamm</b>	

Abb. 5. Einige wichtige Typen des Pflanzenbaus in Yunnan nach Aufnahmen der Yunnan-Reise des Geographischen Instituts des Sun Yatsen Universität in Canton 1930. Sammlung des Materials durch den Assistenten des Instituts Lin Chao.





tion die grösste überhaupt beobachtete Vielseitigkeit des Anbaus entgegen. Aber am stärksten hebt sich von allen diesen Typen Yünnanesischer Landwirtschaft doch der Typus der Landwirtschaft der Tai ab. Hier tritt uns nur eine einzige Anbaupflanze, der auf Bewässerung gebaute Reis entgegen, da der Mais als amerikanische Getreideart ja erst junge Zutat ist und in Eurasien ja erst seit dem 16ten Jahrhundert frühestens für den Anbau in Frage kommt. Gerade an der Stelle, wo wir im Salwintal in 760m Höhe die Siedlungen der Tai antrafen mit Sprache und Pflanzenbau, die ganz denen Siams entsprechen, fanden sich Chinesische Siedler unmittelbar darüber in der nächst höheren Siedlungsschicht in den Ebenen um 1800m und über diesen wieder, also auch in räumlich grösster Nachbarschaft in den Gebirgen bis 2500m die Lolo und Lissu mit der vielseitigen Landwirtschaft, wie sie diesen Bergvölkern eignet. Obgleich nun der Winter im Salwintal die günstigsten Bedingungen für den Anbau der Getreidearten der gemässigten Zone bietet, obgleich unmittelbar darüber dieser Anbau von den übrigen Völkern getrieben wird, bauen die Tai in der Tiefe nur eine einzige und zwar die ausgesprochen tropische Getreidepflanze den Reis an, geben sich im Winter dem *dolce fa niente* des Tropenvolkes hin. Diese Erscheinung ist nur möglich bei langer Gewöhnung des Volkes an die Tropen. Die Tai sind nicht etwa wie heute die tibetoburmanischen Völker in den Gebirgen und Tälern Yünnans langsam nach Süden gewandert. Ihr Herkunftsland muss ein Tropenland sein mit dem Reis als uralte angestammte Anbaupflanze. Ihr Eindringen in die tropischen Täler und Talebenen Yünnans kann nicht von Norden her erfolgt sein, sondern nur von Osten her aus dem tropischen Tiefland der Flussebenen und Küstengebiete Südchinas. Unter dem Druck eines neuen im Norden Chinas sich entwickelnden Volkstums, das allmählich nach Süden drängte, sind sie, vielleicht aber auch eigenem Drang in die Tropen folgend, südwärts und westwärts gezogen in kleinen Wandergruppen vielleicht wie man sie im Gebiet der Tai-Völker, so etwa im nördlichen Siam, auf der Suche nach neuem Reisland noch heute beobachten kann. Dabei haben sie sich jeweils nur in den ihrer Wirtschaftsform adaequaten Klimagebieten niedergelassen, sind ganz selten nur mal in Splittern auch in die Gebirge verschlagen, haben sich sonst ausschliesslich an die tief eingelassenen Talbecken gehalten. So werden sie eben auch die 2000m hoch liegenden Flächen um Tali *nie* besiedelt gehabt haben. Keinerlei Spuren kann man dort heute von einstiger Ausbreitung ihres

Volkstums finden. Nur ihre *Herrschaft* haben sie über das Gebiet und zwar von Süden her aufgerichtet. Sprachliche und archaeologische Untersuchungen werden herangezogen werden müssen, um die Haltbarkeit dieser Arbeitshypothese zu überprüfen.

Archaeologischer Untersuchungen, die vielleicht von der Siam Society in Zusammenarbeit mit der Academia Sinica zu unternehmen wären, bedarf es aber vor allem zur Klärung der von uns gemachten Funde von Festungs- und Mauerbauten im Gebiet des einstigen Tai Ho Tsheng, des jetzigen Dorfes Tai Ho Tsün. In diesem Dorfe steht der bereits oben erwähnte Denkstein an die Schlacht von Shia Kwan im Jahre 751. Hier lag, wie auch der Name des Ortes andeutet, die von König Piloko gegründete Hauptstadt von Nan Tsau. Als wir am 27. Juli 1930 beim Aufbruch zur grossen Reise durch den Westen Yunnans von Tali aufbrachen und in Tai Ho Tsün nach Resten der einstigen Hauptstadt fragten, da führte uns ein Dorfbewohner auf Veranlassung des Gemeindevorstehers auf eine etwa 80m über der Ebene und nur wenig nordwestlich des Ortes gelegene Kuppe, die schon dem Steilanstieg des Tien Tshang Shan angehört, und zu unserem Staunen fanden wir hier die noch deutlich erhaltenen Spuren einer grossartigen Befestigungsanlage Abb. 6. Ein System von Wällen und Gräben, von Gras überwachsen, umschliesst einen eingeebneten Platz, auf dem heute ein kleiner recht unscheinbarer Chinesischer Tempel steht mit verstaubten Götterbildern und als Ablageraum von Ackergeräten dienend, die man zur Bearbeitung der kleinen innerhalb der Umwallungen angelegten Gemüsegärten und kleinen Reisfelder benutzt. Die Bergkuppe führt den Namen Ho Ding Shan und der Tempel auf ihr heisst Ho Ding Tse. Die Kuppe wird gebildet durch zwei Tälchen, von denen das südliche von weiterher aus dem Gebirge kommt, während das steiler eingeschnittene von NE heraufgreifende Tälchen mit seinem Quellkessel gerade um die Kuppe herumgreift und sie vom übrigen Berghang abgliedert. Die mit Hilfe des Kompasses und durch Abschreiten der Längen hergestellte Faustskizze lässt die Lageverhältnisse hinlänglich erkennen. Sie zeigt gleichzeitig die Situation der Landschaft am Fusse des Hügels und die ungefähre Lage der Wall- und einstigen Mauer Systeme, die nun hier an die Hügelbefestigung anknüpfen und sich nach der Beschreibung des Dörflers deutlich durch die Ebene bis an das Ufer des Sees verfolgen liessen. Diese Wälle verlaufen zunächst senkrecht zur Hauptverkehrsstrasse, diese gegen N und S abriegelnd, und verlaufen dann fast gradlinig durch die Ebene zum

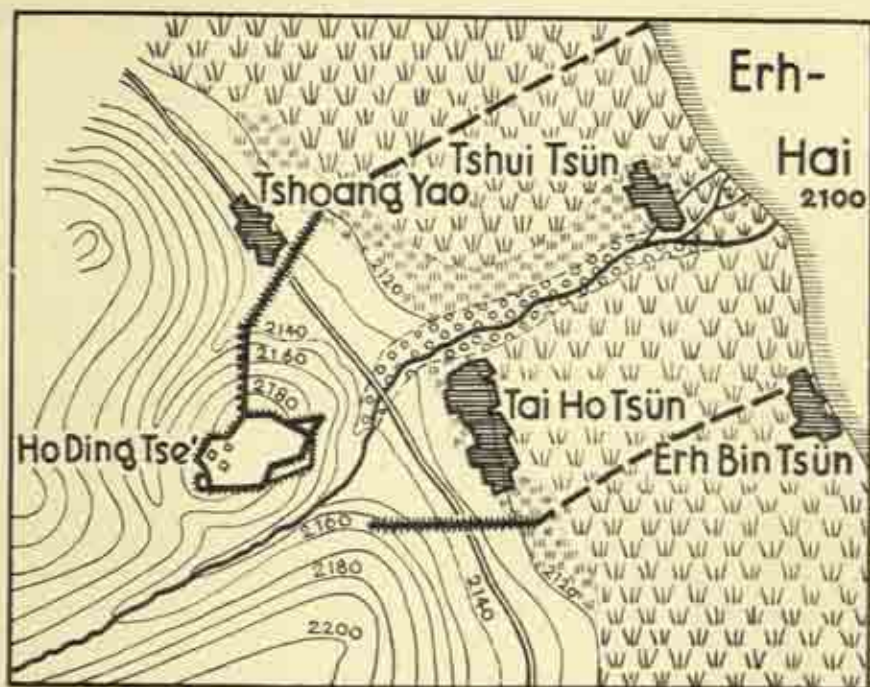


Abb. 6. Kartenskizze des Gebietes um Tai Ho Tsün. Vermutliche Befestigungsanlagen der ersten Hauptstadt von Nan Tsao, Tao Ho Tsheng. Masstab 1 zu 25 000. Nach eigener roher Geländeaufnahme. Höhenzahlen über Seespiegel geschätzt.

#### Erklärungen.

Burgwälle		Bachschotter	
Mauerreste		Reisland	
Wallanlagen		Gemüsekulturen	
noch gut erkennbar			
weitgehend eingeebnet			





Seeufer. Könnte man die Anlage zunächst nur für einen festen Platz zur Beherrschung des Verkehrs auf der Strasse halten, etwa unseren mittelalterlichen Burgen entsprechend, so gewinnt sie nun doch im Zusammenhang mit diesen Wallzügen in deren Mitte das Dorf Tai Ho Tsun gelegen ist, besondere Bedeutung. Mitten durch den Raum, zwischen den Wällen, die etwa 1000 m auseinander liegen und vom Gebirgsabfall bis zum See auf 1500 m geschätzt werden, nimmt in verwildertem Schotterbett der Bach, der den Namen Ti Min Tzi führt, seinen Weg zum See. Südlich von ihm, sich an den Rand des Schuttkegels anlehnend, liegt das Dorf Tai Ho Tsun mit 360 Familien, ein recht grosser Ort also, der aber heute eine rein landwirtschaftliche Bevölkerung beherbergt und wie unsere Skizze zeigt, von Bambusdickicht umgeben abseits von der Hauptverkehrsstrasse liegt. Die zugehörigen Reisfelder erstrecken sich innerhalb und ausserhalb der alten Walllinien bis zum See herunter, werden unterbrochen nur durch die Gemüsebanzone, die sich im höher liegenden und daher trockeneren Gelände am Nordufer des Wasserlaufes hinzieht, und von der Dorfsiedlung Tshin Tsun (bedeutete einst vielleicht Chinesendorf), die offenbar auch innerhalb des alten Stadtgeländes liegt. Nähere Erkundungen waren uns leider aus Mangel an Zeit nicht möglich. Unsere Karawane, die des regnerischen Wetters wegen auch unsere Kameras mitführte, war längst in Richtung Shia Kwan weitmarschiert, sodass wir ihr wohl oder übel zu folgen hatten, zumal unsere Aufgaben ja auch auf anderem Gebiet lagen.

Es entsteht natürlich die Frage, ob es sich denn in den angetroffenen Anlagen wirklich um Reste der alten Nan Tsao Hauptstadt handelt oder ob es sich nicht vielleicht um Befestigungen aus anderen Zeiten handeln kann. Wir müssen dabei bedenken, dass wir uns hier in einem historisch hoch bedeutsamen Gebiet befinden. Alle Heerzüge, die von Osten her das Gebirgsland Yunnan durchzogen zur Erweiterung der Grenzen des grossen Chinesischen Reiches, sind durch den Südteil der Ebene von Tali gezogen, um hier im engen Felsendurchlass von Tien Tshang Tshiao dem einzigen Durchlass durch die mächtige Kette des Tien Tshang Shan diese zu queren. Hier wurden durch den Widerstand Nan Tsacs die Einbrüche der Tang Dynastie im Yunnanesischen Gebiet zum Stillstand gebracht. Hier bewegte sich dann aber auch 1253 der Heereszug Kublai Khans, der die Macht des Königreichs Tali brach, das damals schon seine Hauptstadt von Tai Ho Tsheng nordwärts verlegt hatte. In jener

Zeit scheint mit den mongolischen Kriegern, die Kublai Khan folgten, der Islam in Yünnan Fuss gefasst zu haben, der, wie wir sehen werden, noch im 19. Jahrhundert zur Veranlassung furchtbarer, blutiger Kämpfe geworden ist, von denen sich das Land noch heute nicht erholt hat. So wissen wir, dass der Chinesische Statthalter, den Kublai Khan in Yünnan einsetzte ein Mohamedaner mit Namen Omar aus Buchara war, der dann den Chinesischen Namen Sai Tien Tshi annahm, dass dieser in Yünnan eine Moschee errichtete und dass sein Bildnis im Stadttempel der Provinzhauptstadt wenigstens bis vor kurzem noch Gegenstand kultischer Handlungen war. In jener Zeit hatte Tai Ho Tsheng in der Tali Ebene also schon seine Bedeutung verloren und es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass damals dort noch Befestigungen hätten angelegt werden sollen. Die bedeutsamsten Heerzüge der Chinesen durch Yünnan fallen dann aber in die Zeit der Ming- und der frühen Tsing-oder Mandschu Dynastie. Sie drangen bis ins Oberlaufgebiet des Irrawadi vor, in die Siedlungsgebiete der Katshin, bei denen der noch heute bekannte General Wong aus den Zeiten der Eroberung durch die Ming in Tempeln verehrt wird, in Gebieten also, die durch die politische Entwicklung zu Ende des ersten Jahrzehnts des 20. Jahrhunderts durch Zugriff der Engländer der Chinesischen Oberhoheit wieder verloren gegangen sind. Dass in dieser Zeit Befestigungen in der uns hier interessierenden Gegend angelegt wären, wird in den sonst recht zuverlässigen Chinesischen Annalen nicht erwähnt. Schliesslich ist die Ebene von Tali noch einmal Schauplatz schwerwiegenden politischen Geschehens, das auch in Befestigungsanlagen gerade in der Tali Ebene Spuren hinterlassen hat. Dies sind die sogenannten Mohamedaner Revolten des 19. Jahrhunderts, von denen die letzte von 1855-1873 das Land aufs furchtbarste verheerte. In dieser Zeit befand sich der Hauptstützpunkt der Mohamedaner in Tali, dem Sitz des dortigen mohamedanischen Imams Tu Wen Siu. Durch fast 2 Jahrzehnte gingen die Kämpfe im Lande hin und her unter furchtbaren Massacern oft der Bevölkerung ganzer Städte. Zur Verteidigung der Ebene von Tali gegen den von Süden zu erwartenden Gegner errichtete der Imam eine Mauer bei Shia Kwan auf dem Nordufer des Tsing Tung Ho (siehe Karte 2). Die Mauer beginnt mit einer Bastion im Engpass Tien Tshang Tshiao, die Abb. 6 zeigt, und führt, nur von einem Tor bei Shia Kwan unterbrochen, bis zum See herunter. Wichtig ist nun der Erhaltungszustand dieser Mauer, die noch völlig unbeschädigt ist, sodass es ausgeschlossen erscheint, dass etwa



die stark verfallenen Wälle der Feste oberhalb Tai Hō Tsūn aus ähnlich junger Zeit stammen könnten, ganz abgesehen davon dass wir über jene Zeit sehr eingehende Nachrichten haben, in denen nichts von Anlagen bei Tai Hō Tsūn erwähnt wird. Damals dreht sich alles um das heutige Tali, wo die Mohamedankämpfe mit einem grauenhaften Gemetzel am 15. I. 1873 ihren dramatischen Abschluss fanden. Nachdem die Chinesen die Besatzung der Mauer bei Shia Kwan durch falsche Versprechungen zur Übergabe veranlasst und sie dann restlos niedergemacht hatten, waren sie an die Stadt herangekommen, die sich mit ihrem Verteidiger, dem alten Imam, am oben genannten Tage auf Gnade und Ungnade ergab, worauf die gesamte Bevölkerung, 30000 Menschen, Männer, Frauen und Kinder in einer Nacht in furchtbarem Blutbad abgeschlachtet wurden.

Dieser kurze Überblick über die wichtigsten historischen Geschehnisse sollte zeigen, dass der Ort Tai Hō Tsūn, von dem wir mit Sicherheit annehmen dürfen, dass er, wie das ja auch aus dem von Kolofong errichteten Denkstein hervorgeht, mit der alten Hauptstadt Tai Hō Taheng des Königs Piloko, des Begründers von Nan Tsao, identisch ist, später in der Geschichte nie wieder eine Rolle gespielt hat. Mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit dürfen wir daher annehmen, dass die vom Verfasser gefundenen Befestigungen aus der Zeit des ältesten Nan Tsao stammen. Der endgültige Beweis ist allerdings nur durch Grabungen d. h. mit den Methoden der Archaeologie zu erbringen.

Ich fasse am Schluss noch einmal kurz meine auf Grund kultur-geographischer Beobachtungen gewonnene vorläufige Auffassung der uns hier beschäftigenden Fragen zusammen.

1) Die *Tai* Yünnan sind nicht in langsamem Wanderstrom von Norden her in ihre heutigen auf die tiefsten Teile des südlichen Yünnan beschränkten Siedlungsgebiete eingedrückt, haben sich vielmehr aus den tropischen Niederungen des südlichen China, vor allem aus Kwangsi und Kwangtung, südwärts und westwärts ausgebreitet, sich dabei immer an die ihrer Wirtschaftsform adäquaten Tropengebiete haltend.

2) Im Gebiet von Tali hat mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit nie eine *Tai*-Bevölkerung gesessen. Das Königreich Nan Tsao war vielmehr eine von südlichen Yünnan ausgehende staatliche Schöpfung von erobernden *Tai*-Fürsten (Piloko 728-748), die ihre Hauptstadt zum Schutz des wichtigen und steuerlich einträglichen Verkehrs-

zentrums Shia Kwan gegen die feindlichen Tibeter in der fruchtbaren, von den kulturell ebenfalls hochstehenden Mintshia dicht besiedelten und militärisch leicht zu verteidigenden Ebene am Westufer des Erh Hai anlegten.

3) Die beim Dorfe Tai Ho Tsün auf der Randkuppe des Gebirgsanstiegs gefundenen Befestigungen dürften aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zusammen mit den durch die Ebene bis an den See herunterziehenden Wällen die Reste der einstigen Verteidigungsanlagen der ältesten Hauptstadt des Tai Reiches Nan Tsao darstellen. Die weitere Untersuchung dieser für die Historie SE-Asiens so wichtigen Stelle fällt in das Gebiet der archäologischen Forschung. Möchten sich Mittel und Wege finden, eine solche Untersuchung durch Grabungen bald einzuleiten und durchzuführen.

#### ANHANG.

*Auszug aus den Glossaren der "Yunnanreise des Geographischen Instituts der Sun Yatsen Universität in Canton 1930" aufgenommen durch den Assistenten des Instituts Lin Chao.*

Das Mintshia-Glossar III ist aus H. R. Davies übernommen, um die Zuverlässigkeit der eigenen Aufnahmen zu kontrollieren.

Die Glossare sind an den nachfolgend aufgeführten Orten aufgenommen worden:

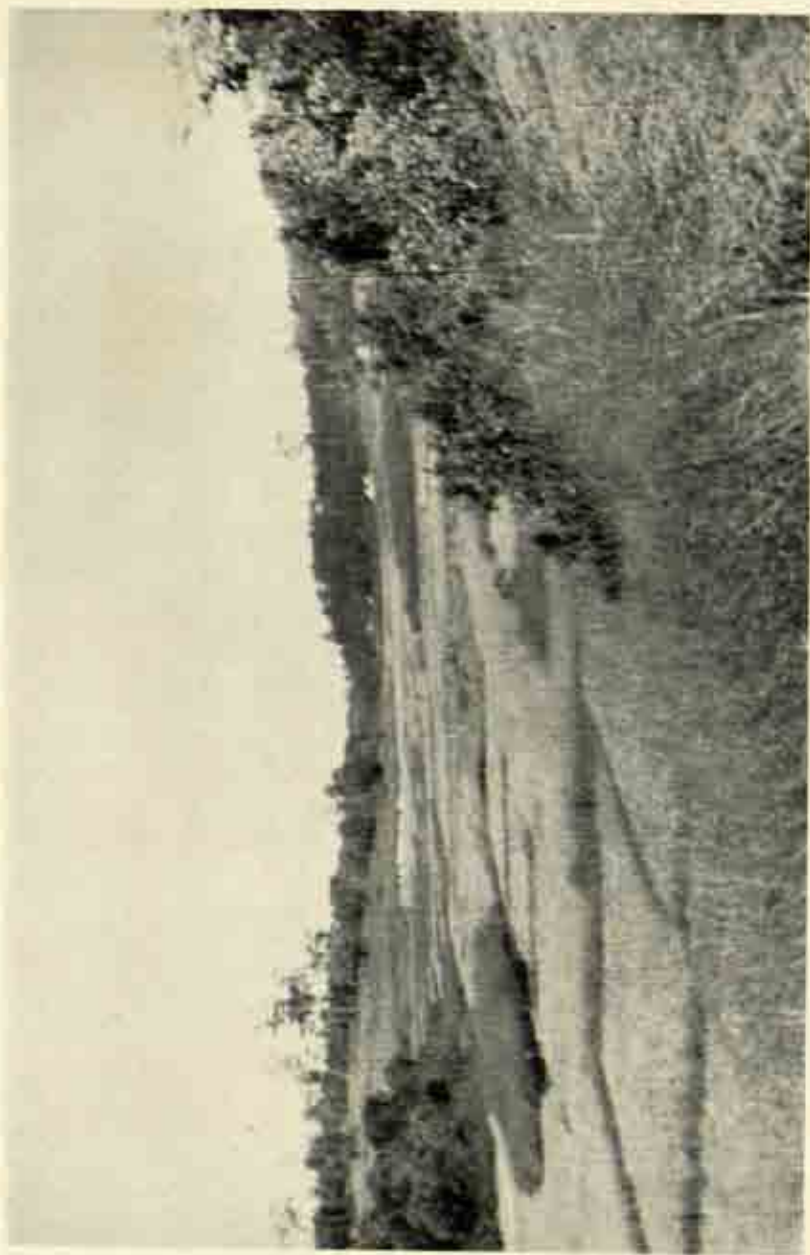
- Mintshia I von einem Handwerker in Shia Kwan am Süden des Sees von Tali.
- Mintshia II von Dorfbewohnern in She Ping, einem Mintshia-Dorf östl. von Lamating am Mekong ca. 130 km NW von Shia Kwan.
- Mintshia III ist durch Davies aufgenommen von Dorfbewohnern bei Yun Lung ca. 100 km WNW von Shia Kwan.
- Lolo von Dorfbewohnern des Lolodorfes Hou Shan im Gebirge SE von Fung I ca. 30 km SE von Shia Kwan.
- Tai von Dorfbewohnern in dem Tai-Dorf Man Le auf den tiefsten Talterrassen des Salwintales hart südl. der Strasse Tali-Teng Yu.

Deutsch	Mintshia I	Mintshia II	Mintshia III	Lolo	Tai (Payi)	Siamesisch	Englisch
Himmel	hai	hai	hē	ngdū	fū	ฟ้า	sky
Erde	tsi-pā	tsi-pā	ye-pe-tong	mī-di	lin	ดิน	earth
Sonne	nie-pī	ngī-pī	nyī-pī	an-tso	wan	ตะวัน	sun
Mond	mī-na-pī	mī-na-pī	ua-pī	ha-pā	len	เดือน	moon
Stern	shie'	sia	sien	ke	lau	ดาว	star
Wolke	ve'	vo	—	an-ti	mok	เมฆ, หมอก	cloud
Wind	pī-she'	pī-she'	pī-se'	an-she'	lum	ลม	wind
Regen	vū-shī	vū-shui	—	an-ho	fon	ฝน	rain
Berg	shu	she'	nge-tō	ku-ze'	loi	ภูเขา	hill
Fluss	—	koq-tō	tshō-tshō	la-kū-ge'	nam-hon	แม่น้ำ	river
Baum	tse'-tse'	tse'-tse'	so-tse'	se'-ze'	mai	ไม้	tree
Gras	tsū	tsū	tso	she'	yā	หญ้า	grass
Fels	tso-kuai	tso-kuai	—	ka-lo	hin	หิน	rock
Pferd	me'	me'	me'	tsan	mā	ม้า	horse
Rind	nge'	nge'	nge'	a-mī	ngō	วัว	cattle
Huhn	kai-de'	ke-hi	ki	ai	kai	ไก่	chicken
Hund	kua-de'	kua-te'	kua	a-ke'	mā	หมา	dog
Schwein	de-de'	te-te'	te	a-vi	mū	หมู	pig
Katze	a-mī-de'	a-nī-tē'	a-nī	miau	miau	แมว	cat
Körper	tse'-kō	tse'-ke'-net	—	ge'-tse	ho-tsa	ตัว, ร่างกาย	body
Kopf	te'-bou	tī-pū	te-hō	e'-de'	hō	หัว	head
Haar	te'-mū	tī-mā	te-mā	u-tse'	hun-hō	ผม	hair
Ohren	—	ngi-ti-kua	nio-tō	ngo-pā	hu	หู	ear
Auge	un-nā	ngue	ngue	mī-tse'	tā	ตา	eye
Mund	tsu-nā	tsu-kua	tshī-ge	ka-pī	shup	ปาก	mouth
Nase	pi-kua-nā	{ ngu-kua tie-net	pui-fu-te	na-kua	hū-lang	จมูก	nose
Zahn	tse'-pā	tsui-pa	tshe-pā	she	hīn	ฟัน	tooth
Zunge	tsai-nā	tsai-pie	tshe-pūi	lo	lin	ลิ้น	tongue
Haus	ho-ka	huo-ka	ho-ke	hī	he'n	บ้าน, บ้าน	house
Tür	mai-sā	me-se	men-shen	a-ke'	na-tū	ประตู	door
Feuer	hui	hui-ne	hui	a-do	fai	ไฟ	fire
Kleider	i-kō	i-kō	i-kō	pu-tse'	she'	เสื้อผ้า	clothes
Hose	kua-iū	kua-io	kua-io	lo	kun	กางเกง	trousers
Schuhe	ngai-tsie	ngai-tsi	nge-tsi	ke'-ni	kiam-tin	รองเท้า	shoe
Essschale	ka-pe'	ke'-pei	—	a-ke'	van	ถ้วย, ชาม	bowl
Vater	a-tie	ti-ngie	ā-te	ā-po	te	พ่อ	father





Deutsch	Mintshia I	Mintshia II	Mintshia III	Lalo	Tai (Payi)	Siamesisch	Englisch
Mutter	ā-mā	mo-ngie	ā-mō	ā-mō	mā	แม่	mother
Sohn	tse'-nī	tse'-ngie	tse'	nga-zo	luk-tsai	ลูกชาย	son
Tochter	du-la-tse'-nī	ngi-ngie	—	zo-mō	luk sau	ลูกสาว	daughter
Älterer Bruder	a-ko	ko-ngie	—	a-ko	tsai	พี่ชาย	elder brother
Jüngerer Bruder	tai-ni	tī-ngie	—	nga-na-zo	nong-tsai	น้องชาย	younger brother
Ältere Schwester	a-tsi	tsi-ngie	—	a-tsi	tsi-tsi	พี่สาว	elder sister
Jüngere Schwester	du-tai-ni	ngiu-tī-ngie	—	ke'-mō	nong sau	น้องสาว	younger sister
Mann	sai-tau-tso-ni	tse'-ngi-ngie	—	i-ke-pō	pu-tsai	ผู้ชาย	male
Frau	dū-ni-ne	ngie'-tse'- ngie-nā	—	zo-mō	pu-ing	ผู้หญิง	female
Ich	go	ngo	ngo	nga	kau	ฉัน	I
Du	no	no	no	nī	me'	คุณ	you
Er	bo	mo	—	ia	me'n	เขา	he
rot	tse'	tso	tshe	in-ho	leug	แดง	red
schwarz	he'	he'	he'	a-nī-vī	lam	ดำ	black
weiss	pe'	pa	pe	a-vī-kū	pe'	ขาว	white
gross	to	to	to	ge'	yai	ใหญ่	big
klein	sai	sei	se	dī	en	เล็ก	small
essen	ie'	ie'	ie'	so-so	tsin	กิน	eat
gehen	pei	pei	ngo'	shia	pai	ไป	go
stehen	tse'-he'	tse'-ke'	die'	kī-tī	tsok	ยืน	stand
sitzen	kn-te'	kn-tie	ke'	nī-tī	nang	นั่ง	sit
1	i	i	a	tse'-mo	mūng	หนึ่ง	1
2	ko	ko	go	nge'-mo	song	สอง	2
3	sa	sa	sa	so-le'	sam	สาม	3
4	sī	sī	sī	i-le'	sī	สี่	4
5	ngo'	ngo	ngū	ngo-mo	hā	ห้า	5
6	fe'	fo	fī	ko-mo	hok	หก	6
7	tsī	tsī	tsī	ke'-mo	tset	เจ็ด	7
8	pia	pia	pia	he-mo	pie	แปด	8
9	tsū	tsie'	tshe'	ke'	kau	เก้า	9
10	tse'	tss	dio	tsi-mo	sip	สิบ	10
100	a-pe'	a-pa	a-peī	tzo-ho	i-pat	ร้อย	100
1000	a-tsi	o'-tsie	a-shi	tse'-te	li-mūng	พัน	1000



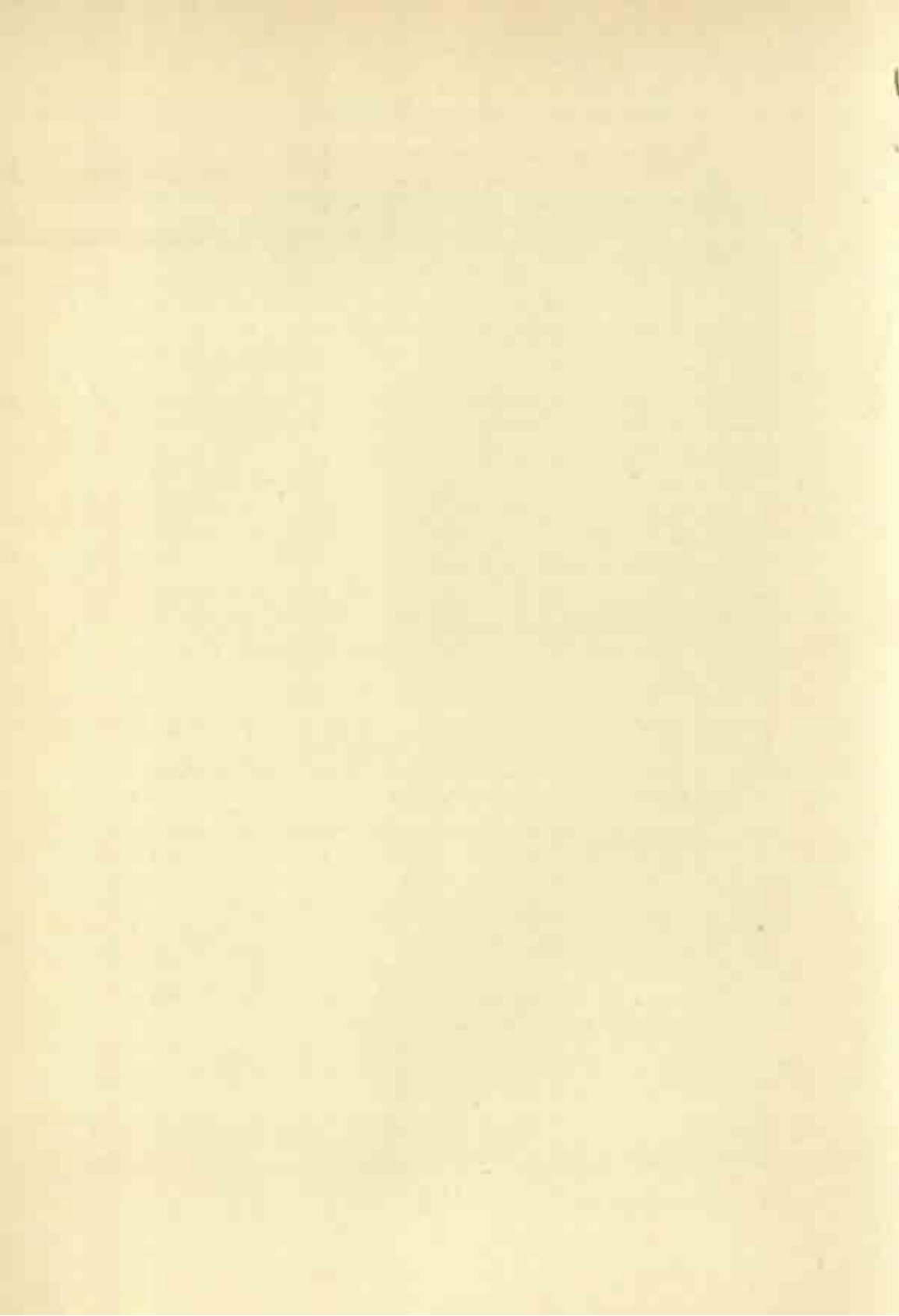
Paddy fields at Bô Luang.



Methode der Transkription von Ortsnamen  
und Glossaren.<sup>(1)</sup>

- 1) Die Selbstlaute *a, e, i, o* werden wie in der deutschen, französischen, italienischen und spanischen Sprache verwandt. Lange Vokale werden mit — über dem Vokal versehen. Der Buchstabe *e* ist nie stumm. *Ajin* wird durch *Apostroph* dargestellt: *Se' Tshuan*.
- 2) Der französische Laut *ou* wird durch *u* wie in der deutschen, italienischen und spanischen Sprache bezeichnet.
- 3) Der französische Laut *u* wird durch *ü* wie in der deutschen Sprache bezeichnet.
- 4) Das deutsche *ö* und das französische *eu* werden durch *æ* dargestellt.
- 5) Die Mitlaute *b, d, f, k, l, m, n, p, r, t, z*, werden wie in der französischen Sprache angewandt.
- 6) Der Buchstabe *g* entspricht stets dem harten Laut der deutschen und der französischen Sprache.
- 7) Der Buchstabe *s* ist immer scharf wie im französischen.
- 8) Das deutsche *sch*, das französische *ch* werden durch *sh* ausgedrückt.
- 9) Der Buchstabe *h* wird stets als Hauchlaut gebraucht.
- 10) Der deutsche Halbselbstlaut *j*, das französische *i* werden durch den Buchstaben *y* wiedergegeben: *Yao*.
- 11) Das deutsche *w* wird durch das *v* der französischen Sprache dargestellt. Der Buchstabe *w* entspricht dem englischen Laut: *William*.
- 12) Das deutsche *tach*, das französische *teh*, das englische *ch*, werden mit *tsh* umschrieben.
- 13) Die Buchstaben *x, c, q* kommen nicht zur Anwendung.
- 14) In der angegebenen Form wird bei Ortsnamen die örtlich gebräuchliche Aussprache wiedergegeben.
- 15) Ausnahmsweise behalte man für Ortsnamen solche Schreibungen bei, die seit langem eingebürgert sind.

<sup>(1)</sup> Nach *Senkenbergiana*, Frankfurt, 1927, Bd. 9, H. 1, S. 18.



THE LAWA IN NORTHERN SIAM<sup>(1)</sup>

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON<sup>(2)</sup>

In November 1932 Major Seidenfaden came up to Chiangmai on a few weeks holiday, and we decided to devote the major part of it to visiting the Lawa iron mines some hundred miles southwest of Chiangmai.

Our object was to collect as much information as was possible in a short time concerning the Lawa, in the hope that our investigations would provide a basis for a closer and more extensive study of these people later on for those with more time at their disposal.

We decided to devote our main attention to compiling a list of Lawa words on the lines of the Siam Society's questionnaire. At the same time we hoped to learn something of Lawa religion, habits and industries. Lastly we carried calipers with which to take cranial measurements, if practicable.

The first stage of the journey is 35 miles along the fine metalled road to Chôm Tông. This we covered in less than two hours. Then came an hour's tramp across padi-fields to the Me Ping river below Fai Huey Ling—a weir which interferes with boat traffic above Chôm Tông.

We found our party waiting for us in the boat: we embarked without delay and arrived at Muang Hôt next morning. Here we

(1) Transliteration of Siamese words in the text: *Consonants*:—The aspirate is shown by apostrophe after the consonants *t* and *p*, e.g. *t'ai* instead of *thai*, *p'ai* instead of *phai*. The English value of consonants is preserved. *Vowels*:—The Italian value is given to simple vowels. A circumflex accent over *o* represents the  $\text{ö}$  sound.

(2) Amplified with two appendices on the geographical distribution of the Lawa and their ancient history by E. Seidenfaden.



spent the rest of that day arranging for carriers. The Nai Amp'œ had been notified by the Governor of Chiengmai concerning our trip. One of his assistants, the Palat Sai, Nai Sri Mun, was deputed to look after us while at the same time he attended to official business in the Lawa country.

The next day we set out for Bô Luang, following the track over which in former days lay the direct route from Chiengmai to Moulmein, via Me Sarieng and Papun. During the XVIIIth century, when Chiengmai was subject to the Kings of Burma, traffic was probably considerable, and Muang Hôt a place of importance.

At Muang Hôt we explored the ruins of a large temple on the northern side of the village. The Chedi known as Prachedi Sung—is still extant, to bear witness, together with nearly one hundred other ruins in this neighbourhood, to the vanished glories of Muang Hôt as an outpost of Chiengmai on the Burma road.

Two miles below Muang Hôt the track leaves the river-bank at Ban Wang Luang and follows the course of a stream—the Me Pa P'ai—in a westerly direction to the foot of the hills. It then climbs steeply up to a plateau of rolling country about 3500 ft above sea level, which is reached at K. M. post 21 above Muang Hôt.

Between K. M. posts 21 and 34 the track is broad and easy. The forest growth becomes thinner, and pine trees appear in increasing numbers towards the highest point on the road from which there are fine views of the hills in the Me Ping valley and of the western slopes of Doi Angka. After passing K. M. post 34 the track descends slightly and opens out into the fields of Bô Luang.

In the Lawa language Bô (pronounced like the Lao word for a well or mine) means village. Bô Luang is the largest of five villages connected by narrow padi fields lying in the shallow valleys on the plateau.

The other four villages are Bô Sa'ngae, Bô Pāk Wen, Bô Wang Kōng and Bô Nā Fon, the latter between 3 or 4 miles distant from Bô Luang, and itself subdivided into two villages.

The population is almost entirely Lawa, and numbers about 350 souls. Ten to twelve miles further west on the way to Me Sa'rieng there is a second group of villages, Bô Sali and Bô Kōng Loi comprising about 100 houses, but the population is mixed Lao and Lawa.

There are no habitations anywhere near the iron-mines, which are distant two days journey over rough country in a north-westerly direction. Beyond them, and in the same direction, but situated on a tributary of the Me Yuam is the Lawa strong-hold of Um P'ai,



Lawa women of U'm Pai.

Photo by Dr. H. McG. Smith.



*Lawa Nen at Wat Bô Luang.*



where the inhabitants are said to be ignorant of Buddhism and the Lao language and to preserve their customs such as eating dogs and drinking the water in which they wash their clothes. The men wear short sleeved white homespun coats and short white trousers, the women leggings.<sup>(1)</sup>

Bô Luang appeared the easiest centre in which to conduct preliminary investigations, since our time was limited. We therefore took up our quarters in the *Wihān* of a Buddhist temple.

Nai Sri Mun, the Amp'œ's assistant, camped in the Monk's house nearby, and we had his assistance, whenever we needed it, throughout our stay at Bô Luang. The novice of the temple, (a *nen* of about thirteen years of age) a Lao, Nān La, husband of a Lawa woman, and the village headmen all rendered assistance to us on the prompting of the Amp'œ's assistant. In the company of one or other of these people we spent half of each day in compiling a vocabulary for the questionnaire.

The remaining hours were devoted to exploring the village and neighbourhood, making enquiries concerning the beliefs and habits of the people, taking photographs and measurements of 51 men and 6 women, and writing up our notes.

The following notes were made during our walks through the village.

Bô Luang consists of several lines of houses in ascending order across the south face of a hummock on the western crest of which is a small Buddhist temple; on the lower Eastern crest is a grove of heavy trees with a spirit-shrine.

#### DWELLING HOUSES.

Houses in the topmost line just under the crest face southwards, but those in all the lower lines face north. The houses are 4 ft or more above ground-level and cattle are stalled underneath. Before building on the site selected, the Lawa bury in the ground for one night a box containing sand and some grains of rice which must be more numerous than the future inmates, allowing an extra grain for the *genius loci*. Four sticks garlanded with flowers are set up around the box to represent the future house-posts.

(1) From a photograph by Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith.

Each house has an open front veranda, but no separate kitchen. The hearth is in the main room, and is used for cooking as well as to warm the occupants, who sleep with their feet to it. The result is that the interior of every house is begrimed with smoke and soot.

Many houses consist of a single room, but where married sons inhabit the house with their parents there are sometimes cubicles screened off for them at the back of the main room.

The majority of the houses have walls and floor of sawn timber; plaited bamboo takes the place of wood in the remaining cases, which are the smaller and poorer dwellings. The houses are roofed with thatch-grass: the gable ends are ornamented with the cross-set horns called by the *Lav. kla*.

The roof slope is very steep, and its sides are extended to within a few feet of the ground, providing storage room for firewood.

Grain is not stored in the house but is generally kept in a separate building.

Padi is pounded into rice by hand in a moveable mortar made by hollowing out a segment of a tree stem. The pestle resembles two Indian clubs joined at their thin end, and is wielded by the women of the village.

Small untidy gardens planted with tobacco, Indian corn and fruit trees surround most of the houses, but the general impression of drabness is relieved by banks of sunflowers which grow in great profusion, particularly near the temple. They are a recent importation which have seeded themselves from a few plants brought up from the Me Ping valley some years ago.

Household utensils are few in number. We noticed clay cooking-pots and vessels for storing water (made at Sa-ngae), also wooden spoons and tobacco pipes. Hollow bamboos for carrying water are being replaced more and more by zinc buckets, and flints by matches bought in Muang Hôt.

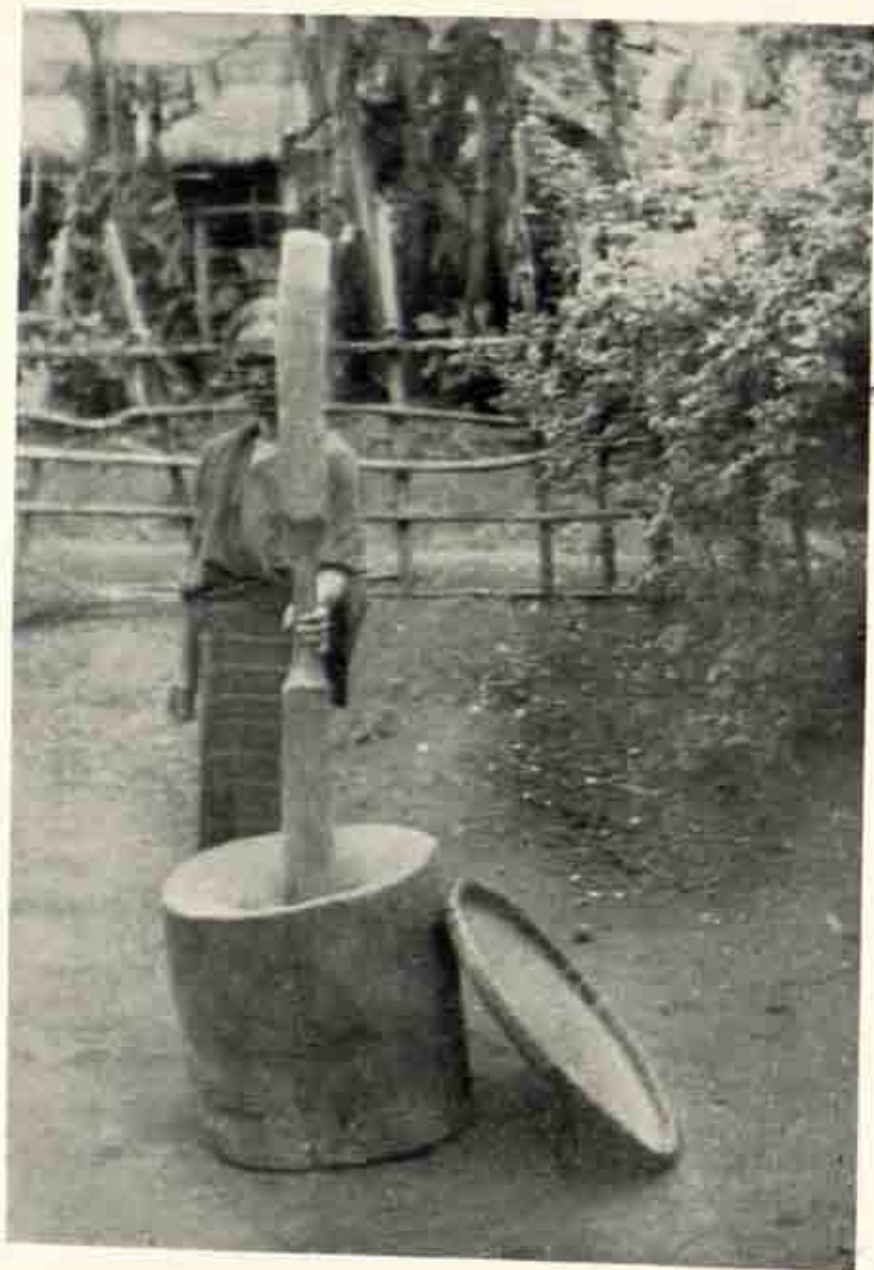
Small shouldered celts (axes) of soft stone have been found by Lawa who are ignorant of their origin.

The most striking defect in these villages is the absence of wells and running water. The situation is near the source of watercourses draining into the right bank of Me Chem; but, being on a plateau with no high ground above it to give a graded descent for water, it is deprived of the advantage of running water. Rain water collects in pools in the shallow depressions which would normally be water-courses, but which are here utilised for Paddy fields. There are only



Lawa house of the poorer kind.





*Pestle, Mortar, and Sieve for hulling Paddy.*

two springs, one on the south-east side of the settlement at the edge of the fields, and the other considerably lower down at the north side. There are no privately owned wells, as in a Lao village, and water has to be carried to each house by its owners. The result is that young children go unwashed until they are old enough to go down to the Springs in person—a condition which no Tai community would tolerate.

The Buddhist temple on the other hand is of the conventional pattern in Bô Luang, with both *Bôt* and *Wihān* of plastered brick, and ornamental gable faces. At Bô Sa'ngue the *Wihān* is of wood, resting on piles—more suggestive of a spirit shrine with its boxed up appearance than of a Buddhist edifice. It is however off the main track. Bô Luang Temple is the one seen by most passers by, many of whom spend the night in a tumble-down Rest House outside the Temple fence. Its appearance, (apart from the absence of temple staff, which here consists of one *P'ra* and one *Nen*—likewise absence of the usual village school for small boys), suggests nothing which would lead a visitor to suspect any difference between the religious beliefs of Lawa and Lao. Being camped in the *Wihān*, with Nāi Sri Mun beside us in the Monk's House, we had the constant presence of these young Monks to answer our questions, but we checked and supplemented all their information with Nōi Ia, the Lao who has a Lawa wife, and with the *P'u Yai Bāu*, Khun Khao Mūn.

#### RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND DAILY LIFE OF THE LAWA.

Our enquiries led us to the conclusion that in north Siam Buddhism exercises a deeper influence upon the life and thought of the Lao than of the Lawa, although it has never displaced the Lao's belief in spirits—*P'i*, which include both ghosts, and embodiments of the powers in Nature.

Near the entrance of many Lao houses is a small shelf or table for the reception of offerings to *P'i*. The Lawa tie flowers to the top of the house-stairs or to the houseposts and mumble prayers to the *P'i*, who is the disembodied spirit of some ancestor.

We learnt that there are three principal *P'i*<sup>(1)</sup> invoked by the Lawa:

(1) The word *p'i* is transcribed with the low consonant, to represent the actual pronunciation in Lawa, which does not use the rising tone.

- the House Spirit - *Pi Huan*;  
 the Field or Local Spirit - *Pi Ti*;  
 the Mines Spirit - *Pi Ra* (pronounced *hæ*)

All three are regarded as the disembodied spirits of ancient Lawa Heroes. The presiding *Pi* at the spirit-grove is the spirit of a Lawa, Pya In, who died in Burma long ago, and returned to haunt this grove.

We learnt that the *Pi* especially venerated at the Mines are those of five heroes, named:—

- Khun Tai  
 Khun Tōng  
 Khun Luang Wi Lang Ka  
 Khun Kio Na Lōng  
 Lām Chōng Wong Pāk Wen

A *Pi* to whom offerings are brought at New Year is *Pi Rā Mang*—another disembodied ancestor.

*Pi Pēt* and *Pi Lōk* were also mentioned as disembodied spirits. The only non-ancestral spirits of whom we heard were *Pi Kien* and

The use of Siamese names for the Spirits venerated by the Lawa calls for comment. The names given in the text are the only ones supplied to us by our Lao-speaking Lawa informants, and there is good reason to believe that they really are the actual names now used by the Lawa for their Spirits, and not given to us to conceal the Lawa names.

We obtained a transcription in Lao characters and again in Siamese of the actual Lawa text of the Invocations, of which English translations are given. The Lawa text begins with the Lawa invocation *A-ha, A-ha*, followed by the words *chao t'i pi raksa* and then the Lawa word for fields, and the rest in Lawa, with the exception of the numerals *sen, lan* for which no Lawa equivalents exist.

It may be that the Tai language in the ears of the Lawa has the same effect as Pali in the ears of a Siamese, and is deliberately used for the nomenclature of superior beings. In the section concerning the language of the Lawa, the fact has been noted that the Lawa both of Bô Luang and of Pang Chô use certain Tai words, where Lawa words are either non-existent or obsolete, through not simultaneously. In the case of these small Lawa communities living among Tai speaking people, it is natural if not inevitable that they should tend to absorb Tai words into their language, both from laziness and for reasons of utility.

The name of their chief village Bô Luang is a blend of Lawa and Tai. Bô is the Lawa equivalent for *ban*; *luang* may well have been applied by their Lao neighbours to designate the chief one among a group of Bô, or villages. In fact, where the name of a Lawa village is not completely Lawa but partially or wholly Tai, the presumption is that the Lawa have adopted the name given to it by their neighbours.







Lawa headmen at Bô Lhang.

P'o Yot-Bian.

Kamun.

*Pi Koi*, forest powers inimical to wayfarers. Thus our general impression was that reverence for the distinguished dead would appear to be the root of the religious belief of the Lawa, who at the same time reverences the force of natural phenomenon or "genius loci". The great spirit grove on the North-East crest of Bô Luang ridge is the joint property of the inhabitants of Bân Nā Fon and Ban Sa'ngæ. In a clearing among heavy Banyan trees are three ramshackle sheds on piles, with connecting galleries, unroofed. Access is through an opening in a dilapidated surrounding fence facing a rough stairway. At the head of the steps to the left is a rough shed with penthouse roof, reserved for villagers assisting at the ceremony: facing it, a gable-roofed shed, the home of the male spirit; beyond it, and facing the steps, a second gable-roofed shed for the spirit of his daughter, all three sheds opening onto a common rough platform.

Once every three or four years a red bull is sacrificed, and the following year a black male pig, also a red cock and hen. We were assured that to the eyes of the assistants a tiger is visible, waiting to devour the remains of the sacrifice: the beast is only a source of danger to the uninitiated; the assistants regard it as a watchdog, and do not fear it.

At the iron mines a creamed-coloured bull is sacrificed in the 5th month once every three years. The bull must be entire and of cream colour, even to the hairs of the tail, in order to be acceptable to the spirit.

#### SUPERSTITIONS AND MAGIC.

Side by side with this reverence for the Supernatural, flourish superstitions similar to those still surviving among Europeans, but with the difference that among the latter they are little more than conventions, while with the Lawa their observance is a matter of urgency.

A few of these magic beliefs came to our notice even during the few days of our visit.

The wrists of most Lawa, as of the Khamū, are bound with string and magic poles are common in the Fields.

For augury they count the number of rice-grains from a handful thrown on the ground in preference to consulting chicken-bones—An even number of grains represents an affirmative answer to the question demanded of the oracle.



There is no lack of wizards at Bô Luang. The elder people are all conversant with the appropriate incantations, but no chief sorcerer was discovered.

#### TOTEMISM.

Hunting the Rhinoceros is strictly forbidden by the elders. This is the only fact we observed which could be construed as evidence of totemism. We were told that two of these animals visited the district in 1931, but that any attempt to molest them would have resulted in general disaster.

#### MARRIAGE.

It is the House Spirit which is invoked at marriages. The marriage of cousins is forbidden on account of the House Spirit. Nai Sri Mun asserts that the preliminary to betrothal is a consummation of the union in the girl's house with the tacit consent of her parents. The latter are informed of the fact on the following morning, and betrothal is effected by the youth's parents paying Rs. 9 or Rs. 5 or Rs. 3 according to their means, for purchase of sacrificial pigs or chickens.

Three or four days later the marriage ceremonies are enacted. They begin in the bride's house, at the gate of which a red dog (supplied by the bridegroom) is felled by a blow. The body of the dog is split open, and a small portion of each of the vital organs is extracted: portions of the dog's tail, tongue and paws are also cut off, and are offered to the house spirit together with snippets of the vitals, while an elder asks for a blessing.

The party then proceeds to the bridegroom's house, and offers candles, incense and flowers outside it to the House Spirit. These offerings are repeated at the foot of the stairway, and again before the door of the cubicle reserved for the bridal pair.

At this moment, boys, related to the couple bring round liquor which all the assembly drinks. A tray bearing an old silver piece—a bullet coin—"Khāku" is placed in the midst. Liquor is sprinkled both on the tray, the head of the stairs, the door, and fireplace; after which, all those present take a sip: if anyone fails to drink, he must pour out the liquor for the House Spirit. We were told that this Spirit is present on the tray, and that it is believed to drink be-

fore the congregation. The ceremony is followed by a feast.

The bridegroom occupies a cubicle with his wife in his parent's house until such time as his younger brother is ready to take a wife. He then builds his own house. He selects the site, but before building he tests its suitability by burying in the ground a grain of rice for each of the intending occupants, together with one extra grain. If all grains germinate, the house is built on that spot. An ox may also be loosed in the jungle. This was formerly part of the marriage ceremony, but is now optional, and no significance is attached to failure by the animal to return home.

Monogamy is the invariable rule. The bride must be sought outside the family circle, even marriage of cousins is forbidden, as stated above.

#### DIVORCE.

The marriage bond is regarded as equally binding upon husband and wife. Should either party violate the bond, the offender is required by the village headman to indemnify the other with Rs. 72, even if it means selling up the offender's property to procure the money. The same fine is inflicted on a young man who refuses to marry a girl he has seduced. Young people appear to be allowed considerable pre-marital intimacy but no actual intercourse. The number of young unmarried women is striking.

#### INHERITANCE.

If the father of a family dies, half the property goes to the widow, and the other half is divided among her sons, while she takes up residence with her youngest son. If there are no sons, the share which would have been theirs goes to the dead man's relatives. If the wife predeceases the husband, on his death all the property goes to the sons. Daughters only inherit if there are no sons.

#### DEATH.

Death ceremonies are reported to resemble those of the Lao. The corpse is kept for three nights: if death has been due to natural causes, it is then burnt. A silk shroud is used, if there is money to procure it, otherwise a cotton one. A coin is put into the mouth, but Noi La was ignorant of the reason. The corpse is never carried down the

stairway, but lifted over the veranda, following a precedent set by the Hero, Luang Rang Ka. Buddhist priests attend the funeral. Burial in the ground is reserved for those dying a violent death or from epidemic disease.

#### DAILY LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE LAWA.

We had no opportunity to observe the customs connected with child-birth.

Very young children appear to lead much the same life as in Lao villages; they are seen in their mother's arms, or crawling about the veranda of the house, always filthily dirty. When they are able to walk and carry, they are seen drawing water at the spring, and herding buffaloes.

There was little evidence of idleness in the village, and even less of games and distractions. We were told that, apart from hunting the deer and wild cattle which abounds near Bô Luang, the sole amusement of the Lawa is to play on a pipe made from the horn of a buffalo, and to consume Liquor. Nai Sri Mun assured us that in his official dealings with the Lawa he found them singularly free from crime. Civil disputes are almost always settled by the village headman, whose authority over his people is remarkable. The only fault he had to complain of was a tendency to evade taxation. We found that the Amp'œ's authority was more respected than that of his assistant. Our visit co-incided with the harvest, when every able-bodied person was engaged in work on the fields. On receiving Nai Sri Mun's orders to assist us in every way, the Lawa sent down to Muang Hôt to enquire whether these orders had the Amp'œ's approval; and on obtaining it the Lawa gave us in every satisfaction.

From June to December the village is occupied in agricultural pursuits. Tobacco, fruit and vegetables are raised in the gardens of the Houses, but on a very small scale and under the most primitive conditions. The absence of water during the dry season restricts the diet of the Bô Luang people considerably, depriving them of the vegetables and cereals which would flourish at an altitude of 3000 ft with plentiful water. Fish is a luxury which can only be purchased at the price of a journey to Muang Hôt. The staple diet is non-glutinous rice. The glutinous variety preferred by the Lao is held by them to be less fortifying. They are mainly vegetarians, but





Reaping Paddy.



Threshing freshly reaped Paddy.

occasionally indulge in the flesh of both wild and domestic animals. They possess no oxen but a large number of buffaloes for plowing. Their dogs are small and resemble foxes. There are but few pigs and cats. The 60 elephants they owned forty years ago have all been sold now.

#### HILL RICE.

Before clearing the forest, the Lawa consults the augury of a handful of rice, counting the grains odd and even, so Noi La says.

There are numerous forest clearings—Rai—on the hillocks surrounding Bô Luang, where rice and chillies are cultivated on a small scale. From the Rai beyond the northwest end of Bô Luang, a magnificent panorama is obtained of the Me Yuam hills on the west, Chiangmai hills on the north and of the west face of Doi Angka on the eastern horizon.

Noi La told us that before clearing a Rai the Lawa utters the following invocation:—

"May the Lord of the Land grant that I clear this land for the benefit of religion and Government. May the answer be revealed to me in a dream."

#### FIELD RICE.

The narrow depressions between low ridges on the plateau provide a natural field for Padi cultivation. The altitude of Bô Luang assures its farmers of ample humidity during the S. W. monsoon when clouds usually surround the highlands, and we gathered that a fair crop seldom fails to be reaped. People at Bô Luang are thus assured of their principle item of diet, non-glutinous rice.

We watched the harvest being collected. The rice stems are shorter than on the plain, and the straw and stubble are burnt instead of being preserved for fodder. The Reaping instrument is a small sickle, less semi-circular than that used by the Lao. Reaping is the work of women.

The sheaves of reaped Padi are collected into piles at various spots on the fields, and are stacked around an improvised threshing-floor of hard earth strewn with mats, in much the same way as by the Lao.

Threshing was generally done by a man. The thresher stands upon the mat with a sheaf of Padi held between his shins. In either hand he wields a stick fashioned from the curved root and stem of



"Mai Buang" to a form resembling a short and light hockey-stick. Having beaten the sheaf, he turns it lightly with his two sticks and beats it again until he has removed every grain.

A woman then winnows the grain, using two circular fans, similar to those in use by the Lao.

Our visit ended before the harvest was gathered in. We thus had no opportunity to observe the carousal if any, with which we might expect it to be celebrated, as with the Lao.

### MISING.

Our informants stated that the dry months following the harvest are devoted by the whole population to extracting the iron ore from the once famous deposit, a long days journey 35 K. M. to the North-West of Bô Luang, beyond Me Tô.

Families migrate to the Iron Mines which are the exclusive property of the Bô Luang Lawa, who own them in common. If any outsider were to mine there, he would be devoured by a tiger. Both men and women collect the ore which is found on the surface. The men carry it home on their shoulders in baskets attached to either end of a yoke, while the women carry it on their backs in cone-shaped baskets, supported by a frontal band—as is common among Khamû, Karen, etc.

The ore is smelted in Bô Luang. Three village elders showed us the process. The smithy was not in use at the time, but it was opened up for our special benefit.

For the furnace, a square oven of clay  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft x  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft x  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft is used, the sides being supported by rough boards. The upper surface is pierced in the centre by a round hole, 6 ins in diameter, which serves as a flue. The furnace has a second outlet at the base of one of the sides: this aperture is closed by a trapdoor in the form of a shell. In a line with it, on the opposite side of the furnace, a clay pipe serves as an inlet into the furnace for air pumped in by the bellows.

The bellows consists of two large sections of a Bamboo stem (Mai Hok) fixed side by side in an upright position near the furnace, and connected with the Clay Pipe by two small Bamboo tubes. A piston rod projects beyond the top of each tube. These rods are operated by the smith who works one with each hand, as he sits behind them, pumping vigorously first with one hand then with the other.



Blacksmith working his bellows.



Blacksmith hammering a red hot lump of iron which he holds on the anvil with his tongs.



The furnace is heaped up with charcoal, upon which the ore is laid and heated. The iron droppings from the ore are collected four times and returned to the furnace. The operation takes six hours, at the end of which a lump of rough iron is produced, resembling a small orange in shape.

This iron lump is again made red hot. The smith then lifts it from the furnace with rough tongs and beats it out on an iron anvil into sundry crude implements, such as knives, bells, tongs, etc.

Behind the furnace a small basket hangs on the wall of the smithy for the reception of offerings of flowers and rice presented to the Forge-Spirit after harvest-time each year to feed him at the inception of the mining season.

#### INVOCATION OF SPIRITS.

Noi La, who through his Lawa wife is intimately acquainted with Lawa habits, dictated to Nai Sri Mun some of the customary invocation used by the Lawa. The latter took them down for us in the original, using the Lao script employed by the Lawa when they write: he also gave us a Siamese translation. To these invocations is attached the following caution:—

"When making offerings to the Spirits of the House and of the

"Mines, no one is to speak.

"Speech is contrary to custom and will cause the Spirits of the  
"House and of the Mines to refuse the offering."

#### ๓. คำถวายผิงนา

ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าทูลเกล้าทูลกระหม่อมถวายบังคม  
คฤหบดี ไกรทองเหมขนสุนัขเห่า ขันเหมขนฟานโรก ขันเหมขน  
กระทิง เติงคไหม่น จะไปกินของง่ามของธา ให้ได้เข้าได้ของเนอ  
ได้เขาเงินเขาถ่านแท่นเออ เขอกนขนนเขาอินน ข้าตุ

#### 1. FORMULAR FOR AN OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS OF THE FIELDS.

Hail, Ye Lords of the place, Guardians of the Rice fields. Taste and take your fill even of a single red Cockerel; his voice is as that of a dog, the sound of his crowing is as the barking of a deer, his

height is that of a bison. Eat at your ease of my offering, and bestow upon me possession of rice tenfold and one hundredfold. Take and eat of this I pray you.

๒ คำให้พรเวลาแต่งงาน

เฮมพะวาทพระวงษ์สกุลมุตทั้งหลายทั้งหมดเป็นต้นเป็นประจาวสู่รา  
 ๒๒ เขา ๒๒ ใหม่มากเหมือนไก่ ไหมใหญ่เหมือนนกยูง ให้  
 มันสูงเหมือนต้นกล้วยคณออย ทั้งหญิงทั้งชายทั้งหมดทั้งหลายเฮม  
 ฝัณคัพพของกณอนนเฮาอนน ผักกอน คนกนทหอง

2. FORMULA TO OBTAIN A BLESSING AT MARRIAGE.

O Spirits of our noble ancestors, each and all of you—the offering is a dram of alcohol and a portion of rice.

May the <sup>(1)</sup> bridegroom increase as a chicken, may he grow big as a peacock, may he be tall as a Banana-tree or a Sugar-cane. Do you, each and all of you, male and female alike, our kinsmen, take and eat of this; first the spirits, then the human kinsmen.

๓ คำเลี้ยงผีบรรพบุรุษ

ดำดาร์ เลื่อมทุกดังทเลื่อม เลื่อมหมเลื่อมสุนัข เลื่อมไก่เลื่อม  
 นก พวามักคาย ไหมนขาวทั้งฝ่าย ให้แจ้งดังไฟในวณัน เปน  
 ขะมุดฝอย มันดำขาวให้ตกไปในวณัน ตั้งแตวันไป ให้พวกของ  
 ขา อัยคณสุข อายมนยนาวทองหญิงทั้งชายดำ

3. FORMULA FOR OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS OF THE GATE.

All hail. Remove all cause of destruction from perishable beings, from <sup>(2)</sup> his pigs, his dogs, his poultry, his birds, and the stroke of the lightning from his children. May he be white as cotton, and bright as fire, on this day. May the clouds of dust and darkness disperse today. From this day onwards, may all in my family enjoy good health and long life. Hail.

(1) *Lū*, he.

(2) *i. e.* the house-holders.

๔. เถียงผคนป่วยว่า

ถ้าผู้ใดตั้ง ผีที่อยู่ทิศเหนือทิศใต้ ตลอดจนอยู่บนหน้าอากาศ อยู่  
ทิศใดก็ตามไปบนและไปมา ถ้าพูดหยาบพูดคราย ซึ่งมาทรมารยังคน  
นั้น ให้ถอยถอยหนีเสีย ข้าจักถวายขันเช้า ๓ ขันให้หาย ถ้าไม่หาย  
ไม่ให้ ถ้าไม่จริงจะให้ ข้าไม่ใช้จะไม่ให้ กำหนด ๓ วัน ๗ วันให้  
หายภายหลังหัดเป็นภายหลังนอนแท่นนอน ถ้าผู้ใด

4. FORMULA OF OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS FOR THE SICK.

Hail, Spirits of all things, dwelling in the north and the south,  
Spirits in the Heavens, and Spirits which wander across them. Wipe  
out the poison of any harsh or bitter word which is tormenting this  
being. For his recovery I will offer a tray of food, but will not give  
it unless he recovers. If you keep faith, I give it; if not, I withhold  
it. May he recover within a few days, and then lie down to sleep in  
peace. Hail. All Hail.

๕. เถียงผีประตูเรือนทั้งกระโตเตาไฟว่า

ถ้าผู้ใดตั้ง ผีเตาไฟ ผีหิ้งกระโต ผีประตูเข้าออก ข้าเฝ้าด้วย  
อันเต็มใจท่าน ด้วยสุรา ๓ บัน ไช้ไก่หรือไก่ ๓ ตัว ๓ ลูก บั๊ยะ เตาไฟ  
กระโตประตูเข้า กระโตคำประตูเงิน หม้อเช้า หม้อแกง เข้า เข้าสาร  
หม้อหนึ่ง ไช้เช้า บั๊ยะ สุรา ๓ บัน อย่ากินเปล่าๆ อย่ากินของง่าย  
ระยะและเสียมพญาศพระยาให้ตกไปในวันนั้น ปกบ้องรักษาไฟอย่าให้ไหม้  
หรือเรือน เดือนดาว หมัดไฟอย่าให้ชนที่อยู่ที่นอน รอดให้ยุดันสุราให้  
โตเงินดังด่าปาง ให้โตเงินช้างเซียงเสน ให้โตเงินเมืองยี่งวะ ให้  
เรียกมาสู่ข้าหาคนไป ให้เป็นทัพองตนมา ให้เป็นที่อยู่ไปทางหลัง รอดให้  
เก็บของเราร่อนไปทางหลังให้เก็บของอันมีอันให้ เอาหัวนมเมือกก่า  
พญาศ เมื่อคืนให้หอบขุมด้วยชา ดัดร้ายคนร้ายให้ตามไปกับตนกับไฟ  
ให้ไหลไปด้วยน้ำแม่แท่นนอน ถ้าผู้ใด



คำแดงผ้านแดงผอบเหล็ก หามไม้ให้พูดอะไรสักอย่าง ผิดประเพณี  
 การพูด ผ้านหรือผอบเหล็กไม้รบของเงิน  
 เวลาเดินทางไปนอนกลางป่า เสน่ผ้านหรือไวนางชน ไร่ภาษาไทย  
 ภาษาอะไรใหม่.

5. FORMULA FOR OFFERING TO SPIRITS OF THE HOUSE,  
 GATE, STAIRS, AND HEARTH.

Hail Spirit of the Hearth, Spirit of death, watcher over the stairs, Spirit of the gate of entrance and exit. I offer you to feed your fill upon a dram of alcohol and an egg or chicken. Enter, my paternal ancestors about the Hearth, the Stairs, the Gate. May the stairs be gold and the gate silver, and may there be rice in the cooking pots. May all sickness vanish this day. Guard the fire and prevent it from burning the house. May no rays from the Moon or stars, nor sparks approach the place where I lie. May I have health and happiness, and for wealth the pence of Lampang, the Crowns of Chiengsen and the Rings of Ava.

Call me to return when I go, be my defence when I come. Be the guardian who stands behind me; be he who discovers what is hidden behind me, and who picks up what I have forgotten in the daytime. Cross the thumbs against sickness, and by night surround me and enfold me with your leg. Pursue wild beasts and evil men with wind and fire, that they be carried away on the current of the stream. Hail. All Hail.<sup>(1)</sup>

These words are uttered in conjunction with offerings to Spirits of the House and of the Iron Mines. Let there be no sort of talking whatsoever. If there is talking, the spirits of the House and of the Iron mines refuse the offering.

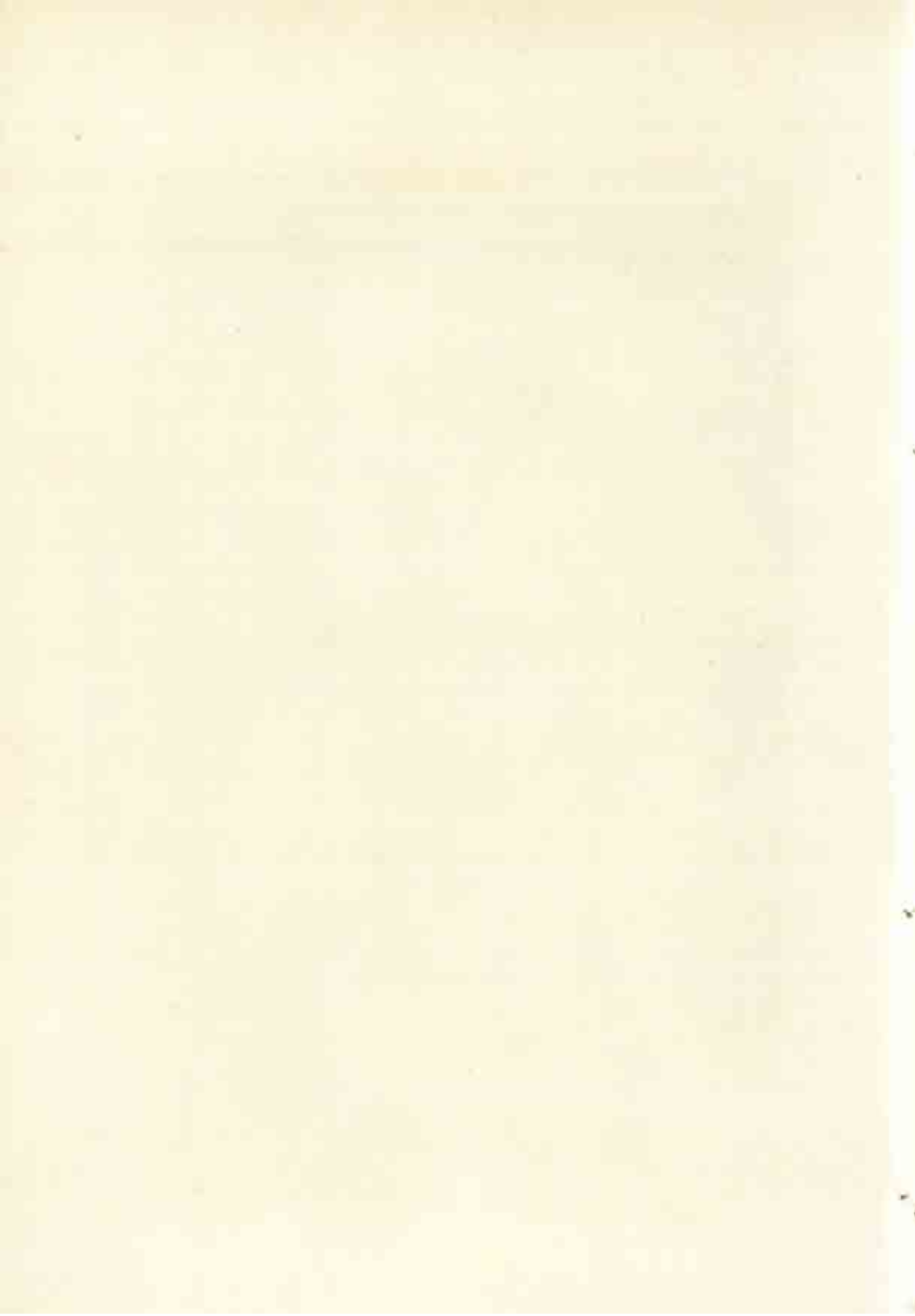
When travelling by road and when sleeping in the forest; when making offering to spirits or praying to the Lady Torani, make use of Tai speech. Lawa speech is not (used).

The Lawa always referred in our hearing to the Tai as "the people of the land". Whatever may have been their state in ancient times, they now have no pretensions to be other than foreigners in Siam among the Siamese.

(1) The following instructions are appended to the invocation.



Lawa boy and girl eating chocolates for the first time.





## HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Although the Lawa in Siam are now almost negligible, there is evidence that in past days they enjoyed a recognised status in the country. The village Headman told us of the existence of a ritual Silver Plate inscribed in Lao characters with the names of former Lawa headmen and a record of their connection with the Lao Chiefs of Chiangmai by whom the plate is said to have been presented. A gold plate is also spoken of as lost years ago. The silver plate is said to have been buried in the ground at Bô Luang for the past twenty years. It is only brought to the light on great occasions, when ten bottles of liquor and a pig must be offered to the Spirits of the place. We were told that deaths in the village occurred after the previous exhumation, which fact may account for the unwillingness of the Lawa to show us the plate.

When we returned to Chiangmai, we made enquiries about this reputed connection between Lawa and the princely family in Chiangmai. The Abbot P'ra Maha Meun, of the temple adjoining Chedi Luang on the north side, confirmed the connection. He says that when he was young, in Chao Int'awong's time, the Lawa came to Chiangmai every year in the fourth month to present offerings of the crops, particularly ginger, to the Chief. The latter, on accepting the offering, took it into his mouth, and then spat it out again. This was a magic symbol for the fertilisation by the Chief's agency of the Lawas' crops. Major Seidenfaden was received by H.R.H. the Chao Dara Rasmi, who remembered this old custom, as well as the customary presentation of a white orchid by the Lawa to the Chief. She said her people, the Lao, respected the Lawa as being their predecessors in Siam, and often invited them to their homes on the occasion of weddings, regarding such a visit as of good augury. She had heard of the gold and silver plates, and understood that they were inscribed in a manner corresponding with the *sup'annabatr* bestowed by the King when conferring a higher rank on a Prince.

In the Siamese records of historical times the Lawa are sometimes mentioned.

In the Lao annals, relating to the origins of Chiangmai, frequent references are made to the Lawa. The translator of these annals,<sup>(1)</sup> in his Introduction, admits that "Chronicles in the vernacular must

(1) C. Notton, *Annales du Siam*, Première partie, pp. VII-IX.

"have been composed by gradual steps contemporaneous with the events related:— . . . . . while it is certain that no texts can be accurate which have been preserved through the centuries by the expedient of re-copying. . . . . they probably contain the nearest reproduction of the author's meaning achievable in the circumstances, especially when the importance attached in this country to tradition is born in mind. Men's memories have always furnished the soil on which Legends have grown up. It may well be that in a long period of misfortune, such as is recounted on p. 26, men's interest becomes focussed upon old habits and ceremonies, the strict observance of which in days gone by coincided with a period when the evils of war, etc., were unknown. It is thus that the memory of ancient usages may be kept alive."

These Lao annals, though fantastic and legendary, are on this account worthy of consideration, and the numerous references in them to the Lawa deserve notice.

According to the chronicle of Mahāthera Fa Bôt, the Lawa had a settlement on Doi Sut'ep, from which they founded a city at Chiengmai before the coming of the Tai.<sup>(1)</sup>

When the Tai founded Chiengmai under Meng Rai they found relics of the earlier Lawa occupation. Meng Rai established contact with the Lawa who had then retreated to Doi Sut'ep and learnt from them the story of the Lawa occupation.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the chronicle of Suvanna Khamdēng, that Tai ruler is reputed to have converted the Lawa of Chiengmai to Buddhism, and to have received two wives from their headman.

Again, at a time when Lawa and Tai were living side by side, a Lawa chief, Vivo, proposed that in order to deceive the evil spirits, Lawa and Tai should exchange clothes and head-dress. This chieftain by a further ruse defended the Tai from attacks by the Cloud Spirits, Phī Khōk Fa Ta Yūn—giving them rice from the Tais' cookpot.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Sīnhanavati refers to the place K'ôm Khām on the Me Khong where there were only wild men, Milakkha, of Lawa race, whose chief was called Pā Chāo Lao Chōk—lord of 500 spades—with which his

(1) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

(2) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

(3) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

men cultivated the Hill gardens on Dui Sam Sáo on the southern borders of Chiang Tung State.<sup>(1)</sup> The son of this chief paid an annual tribute of 4 baskets of small golden Māk P'm to a Tai overlord.<sup>(2)</sup>

Ptolemy's Geography mentions an oriental land named Mālava-deça. Gerini, in his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*,<sup>(3)</sup> warns the reader against the facile conclusion that this was Lawa Land. He identifies Davāka with the Shan States of Burma, and the Dabasça range with the hills which separate the Salween (Nam Kóng) from the Me Kong (Me Nam Không)—He points out that the letters D and B are interchangeable with L and V.<sup>(4)</sup> Dabasai might thus represent Lavasai, and may possibly have been associated with either the Lawa or the Lao in Ptolemy's time.

Gerini refers the origin of these Sanscrit Words to two tendencies on the part of the early Hindu travellers, to whose nomenclature Ptolemy was indebted for the place names in that region. These early travellers, he suggests, were inclined to give a Sanscrit turn to the local names of the inhabitants of Indo-China. In his view "Muang Lao" would naturally be classicised as Mālava. The second tendency was to adapt Indian place-names to features in Indo-China corresponding with those familiar to them at home.

Thus Mālava, being their rendering of "Muang Lao", suggested Malwa in India. The eastern portion of Malwa is Dasana. Ptolemy's *Dasina* is therefore the eastern part of the Lao territory.

This explanation is interesting in connection with the terms *Damila* and *Milakkha* which are applied to the Lawa in Lao chronicles. *Damila*, meaning *savage* in Sanscrit, was the name given by the early immigrants into India to the earlier inhabitants whom they dispossessed and drove into the hills—i. e. the Dravidians or Tamils.

If the Lao States were named *Darçana* and *Mālava* in memory of Indian places, so, their earlier inhabitants (as Gerini imagines the Lawa to have been) would naturally be termed *Damila* or *Milakkha* corresponding to the dispossessed aborigines in India.

(1) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

(2) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

(3) Gerini, *Researches* . . . , pp. 118-99.

(4) *ibid.*, pp. 58-59.



Gerini doubts whether the name *Lawa* was used for these early inhabitants in ancient days. He favours the supposition that they were known as *Chieng*, or *Hill-people*—a name contracted into *Che*. He quotes the Luang Prabang chronicles to show that the Kha-Che race ruled there before the Tai came down.

Gerini adds that *Chieng* also has the same meaning as the Sanskrit word *Yavana*—mixed. He suggests that *Yuen* (as the Laos call themselves) may be a corruption of *Yavana*, representing the Tai who settled in the country of the *Chieng* and mixed with them.

According to his system of correction of Ptolemy's reckoning, Gerini is able to locate *Lasippa* near Ban Sa-iep, a village on the Me Yom river some 50 miles north of Pre. He points out the existence of a second town of the same name in lower Burma, and another of kindred name, *Lasiep*, above Kamp'eng P'et. He concludes that this word belongs to the language of the early inhabitants.<sup>(1)</sup>

If any broad deduction may be drawn from these historical and geographical notes, it would be that the Tai invaders of Siam in the early years of the second millenium established relations with another and less cultured people, for the most part hill-dwellers, whom they found established in Siam before their coming.

These people are suspected to be the ancestors of the modern *Lawa*.

#### LANGUAGE.

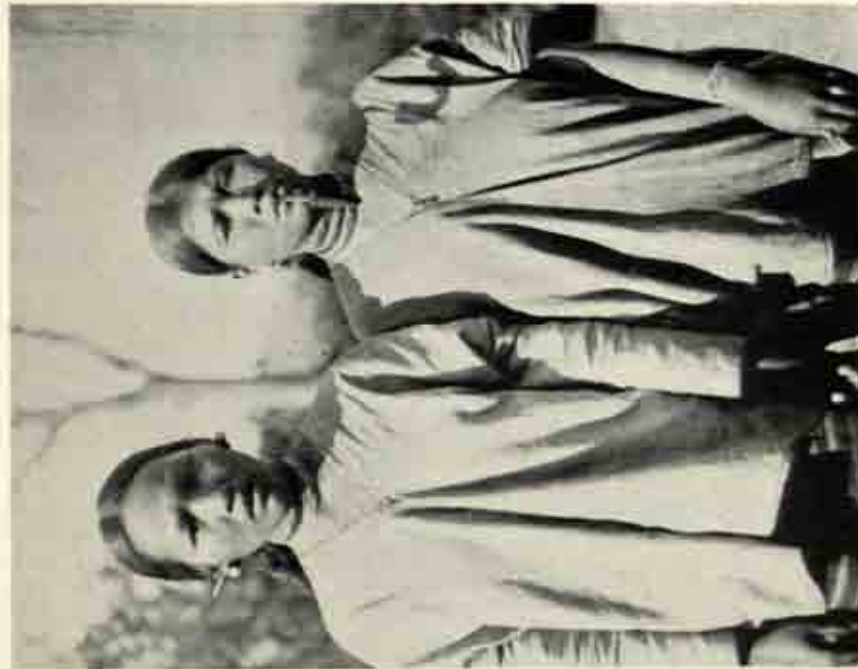
On our return to Chiengmai we were disappointed to find that in the Siam Society's Questionnaire, which we had filled in at Bô Luang, there are only 125 words which are common to it and to the vocabularies of the Indo-Chinese languages given in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma with which we proposed to compare our *Lawa* vocabularies.

At the same time we learnt that the *Lawa* in Vieng Pa Pao district are unintelligible to those at Bô Luang. Holt Hallett had remarked this fact fifty years ago in regard to the small vocabularies he collected first at Bô Luang, then in the Pa Pao district.<sup>(2)</sup>

A vocabulary was subsequently compiled of words in use by *Lawa*

(1) Cf. place names: *Sa-iep*, *Sa-nam*, *Sa-keun*, *Sa-ring*, etc., with *Lawa* word *Sa-ngaa*=Sun.

(2) Holt Hallett, *A thousand miles on an Elephant*.



Lawa of Umu Pui.



*Elderly Lawa, a dwarf, among the sunflowers at Bô Luang, on her way to carry firewood.*



at Pang Chô, near Vieng Pa Pao, thanks to the Christian Elder at that place, who sent down two Lawa to Chiangmai for the purpose. It revealed considerable divergence from a vocabulary collected by Monsieur Notton in that same district from Lawa of Ban Ta Ko some years ago.

It appears that only 19 out of 425 words in the Questionnaire are common to Bô Luang and Pang Chô Lawa, and 26 more words are closely related.

The structure of both Bô Luang and Pang Chô Lawa differs from Tai in many ways, notably in the use of the Welsh double L, in the prefix 'M or 'N before another consonant, and in the sounding of final S and L, also in the short explosive sound with which many words terminate.

The tone system of Bô Luang is more developed than that of Pang Chô, the Rising tone being the only Tai tone not recorded at the former place.

Pang Chô follows the Tai order of words, Bô Luang inverts it. Both languages borrow a considerable number of Tai words, but not on the same occasions—e. g. Pang Chô uses Tai numerals and the Tai word for fire, while Bô Luang has its own native word for both, but Bô Luang uses the Tai word for iron, while Pang Chô has its own word.

A comparison of 125 words from our Bô Luang vocabulary with the lists of Mon-Khmer language vocabularies given in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma reveals the following results.

63 Bô Luang Lawa words identical with Wa, i.e. 50%

6	"	"	"	"	Palaung.
9	"	"	"	"	Khamu.
12	"	"	"	"	Riang.
7	"	"	"	"	Rumai.
5	"	"	"	"	Nya Kuol.
2	"	"	"	"	Môn.

In a number of other cases there are obvious affinities. The evidence of language thus points to the Mon-Khmer family as the source of the Lawa tongue, also to the kinship of Lawa and Wa. The fact that the Bô Luang people have Tai names and use Tai words in a number of cases need not indicate anything more than the influence of more powerful and more cultured neighbors.

That the Lawa are of different origin from the Tai is suggested by their physical features, absence of the fold of the eye-lid.

That the Lawa wear the dress of the Lao or the Karen smock is explicable in the same way as their use of Lao nomenclature. The similarity in spirit worship between Lawa and Lao with emphasis on the House-spirit would be natural, if the early home<sup>(1)</sup> of Tai and Mon-Khmer was—as has been claimed—the land where Ancestor-worship is observed until the present day.

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(1) Different areas in the southern watershed of the Yangtse river.

APPENDIX I

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MEASUREMENTS OF FIFTY-ONE  
LAWA MEN AND SIX WOMEN

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON



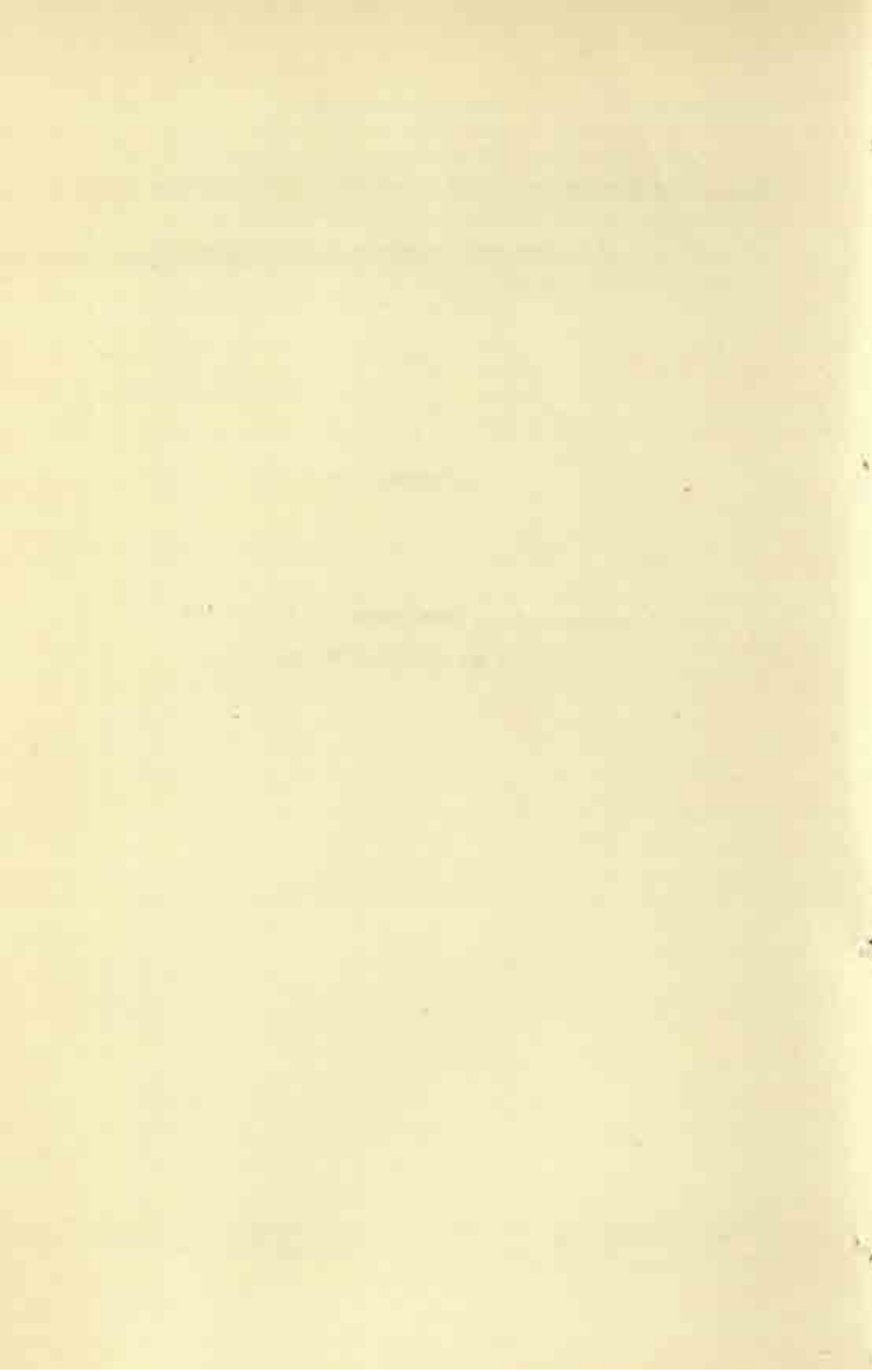


TABLE I

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL MEASUREMENTS OF FIFTY-ONE LAWA MEN AND SIX WOMEN

## AT BŨ LUANG

*Head and Face Measurements to the nearest .25 millimetre**Men*

Nos.	NAME	AGE	HEIGHT		HEAD		FACE
		Years	Standing	Sitting	Length	Breath	Bizigomatic Breadth
			cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.
1.	Nen Bia	19	162	84	19	16	12
2.	Kiu Kam Mun	43	161	84	19.50	16.25	12
3.	Kam Ban	65	162	83	18	14.50	11
4.	Suk	34	162	86	19	15.50	12
5.	Chi Chu Wen	36	166	92	19	14.50	12
6.	Suk Do Tong	35	164	87	18	14	12
7.	Dooi Kam Mun	34	160	84	18	16	10
9.	Kam	26	155	83	19	14	11
10.	Cha Nguan Keo	53	160	85	18	14.50	10
11.	Chan Pan Wet	38	153	79	17	15.50	10
12.	Ngon	63	159	84	18	16.50	10.50
13.	Pom Ba Lek	64	159	77	17	14	10.50
14.	Sing	42	161	83	18	14.50	11
15.	Sen Soi Huon	33	164	87	18.50	15	10
21.	Ban Pa La	34	164	87	17	15	10.50
22.	Chan Da	35	165	86	18	15.50	11
23.	Tong Kam	37	159	83	17.50	15	11
24.	Nam Si Ti	66	170	89	18.50	15.50	10.50
25.	Som Tong Sa	38	163	87	18	14	9.50
26.	Suk Nan Da	41	153	85	19	15	10.50
27.	Ba Kiu Sa	63	168	84	18.50	15	9.50
28.	Lun (Headman)	44	155	84	18	15	10
29.	Mun	22	162	76	18.50	15.25	10
30.	Chan Da	60	166	82	18	15.50	10
31.	In Da	30	155	81	19	15	11
32.	Keo Ya Da	51	157	79	19	15.50	10.50
33.	Tip	52	157	77	17.50	15	10
34.	La	25	163	76	18	14.50	10
35.	Keo	28	155	78	18.50	15	11
36.	Chai	25	155	75	18	15	10





Nos.	NAME	AGE	HEIGHT		HEAD		FACE
		Years	Standing	Sitting	Length	Breadth	Bizigomatic Breadth
			cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.
37.	Bok	22	158	78	17	15	11
38.	Chan Wee	57	165	84	18.50	16	11
39.	Chan Keo	68	165	82	18	16	11
40.	Kam	37	153	77	17.50	15	11
41.	Noi Kam	28	162	82	18	15	10
42.	Kam Ai	37	164	87	18	15	10.50
43.	Kam Dit	56	160	84	18	15	9
44.	Kam Nan Da (Headman)	56	156.50	81	18	15	10.50
45.	In Keo Mung Ma (Kamnan)	53	160	86	19	15	10
46.	Noi Wan	36	163	86	18	15	10
47.	But	24	158	80	18.50	15	10
48.	Ui	19	158	83	18	15.50	9
49.	Bia	27	158	84	10.50	14.50	9.50
50.	La	57	150	76	18	15	11
51.	Bun Ma	62	166	85	19	16	10
52.	La	39	168	85	17.50	14	11
55.	Koi	43	164	83	18	15	12
56.	Dai	38	160	84	18	15	11
57.	Bu Som	65	160	90	17	15	10
58.	Noi Deja	64	149	77	18	14	10
59.	Noi Tu	60	160	85	18	15.50	11
Averages for		43	160	83	18	15	10
TOTAL 51 men:							
Cephalic index.....83							

*Note.* The measurements for sitting height had to be taken with the person seated on the ground, for lack of suitable chair or table. They are offered with all reserve, since they represent a first essay, and some were even taken out in the fields, where the population was camping for the harvest.

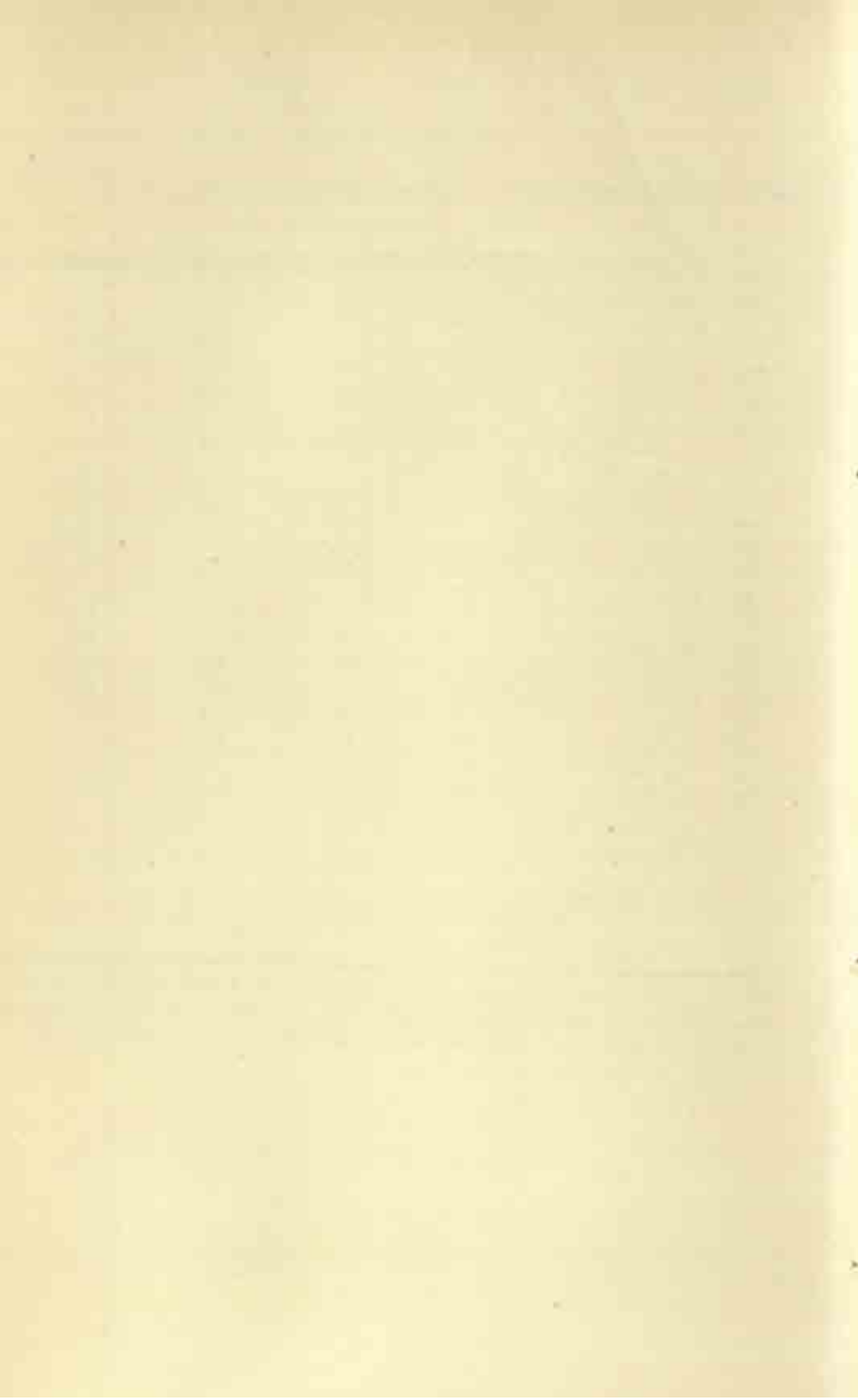


TABLE II

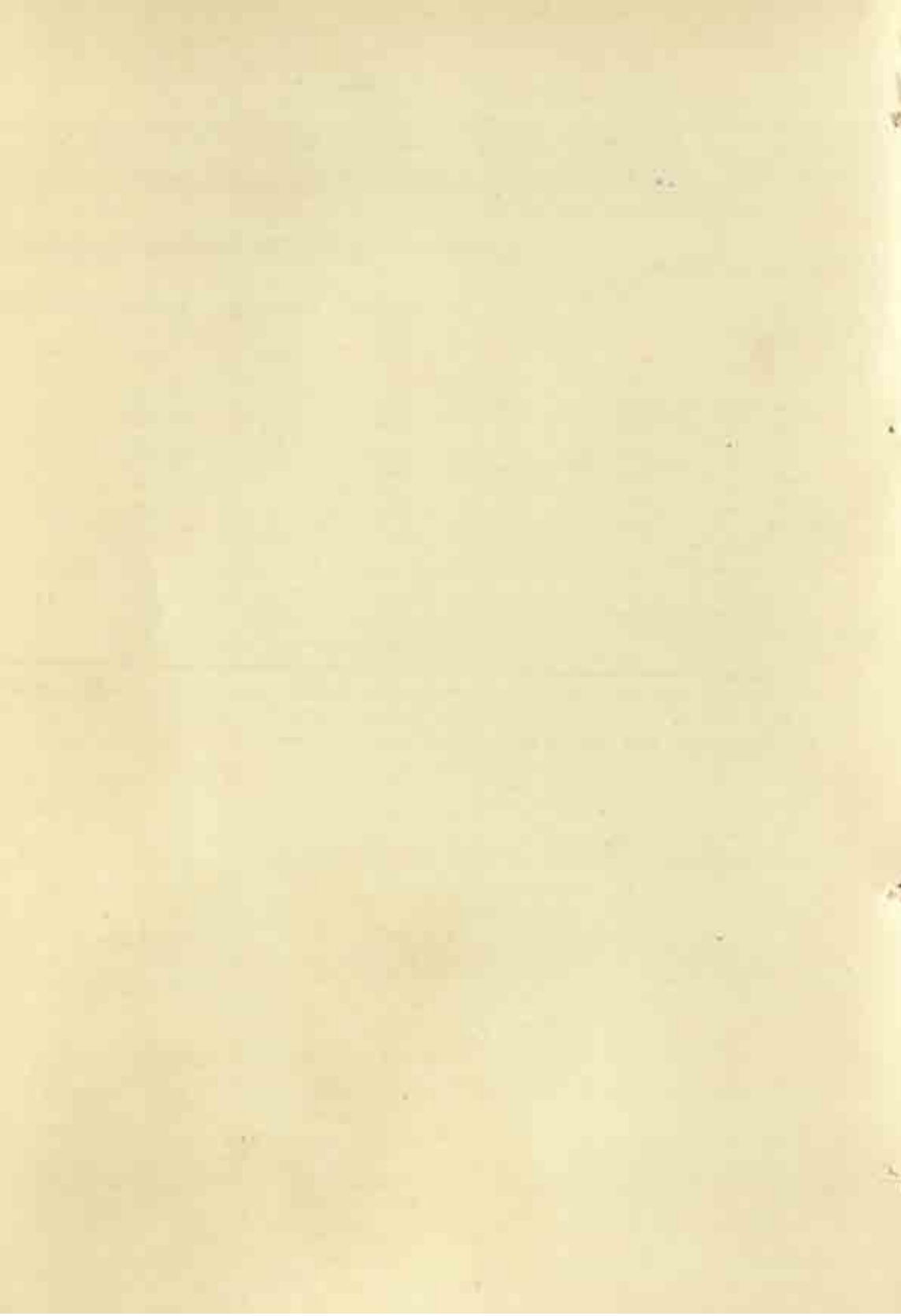
*Head and Face Measurements to the nearest .25 millimetre**Women*

No.	NAME	AGE	HEIGHT		HEAD		FACE
			Standing	Sitting	Length	Breadth	Breadth
			cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.
8.	Nang So Kamun	40	153	85	17.50	15	10
16.	Nang Sao Ban	24	156	82	16.50	14	9
17.	" " Usa	26	147	79	17.50	14	80.50
18.	" " Boa	27	145	77	18	14.50	8.50
19.	" " Nam	22	147	78	18	13.50	8.50
20.	" " Kam	27	157	86	18	14	11
Average for							
TOTAL 6 women:		27	151	81	17.50	14	10
cephalic Index .....82							

Women wear their hair long, parted in the middle and rolled into a knot at the back of the head. Their teeth appear strong and white, as they do not chew betel.

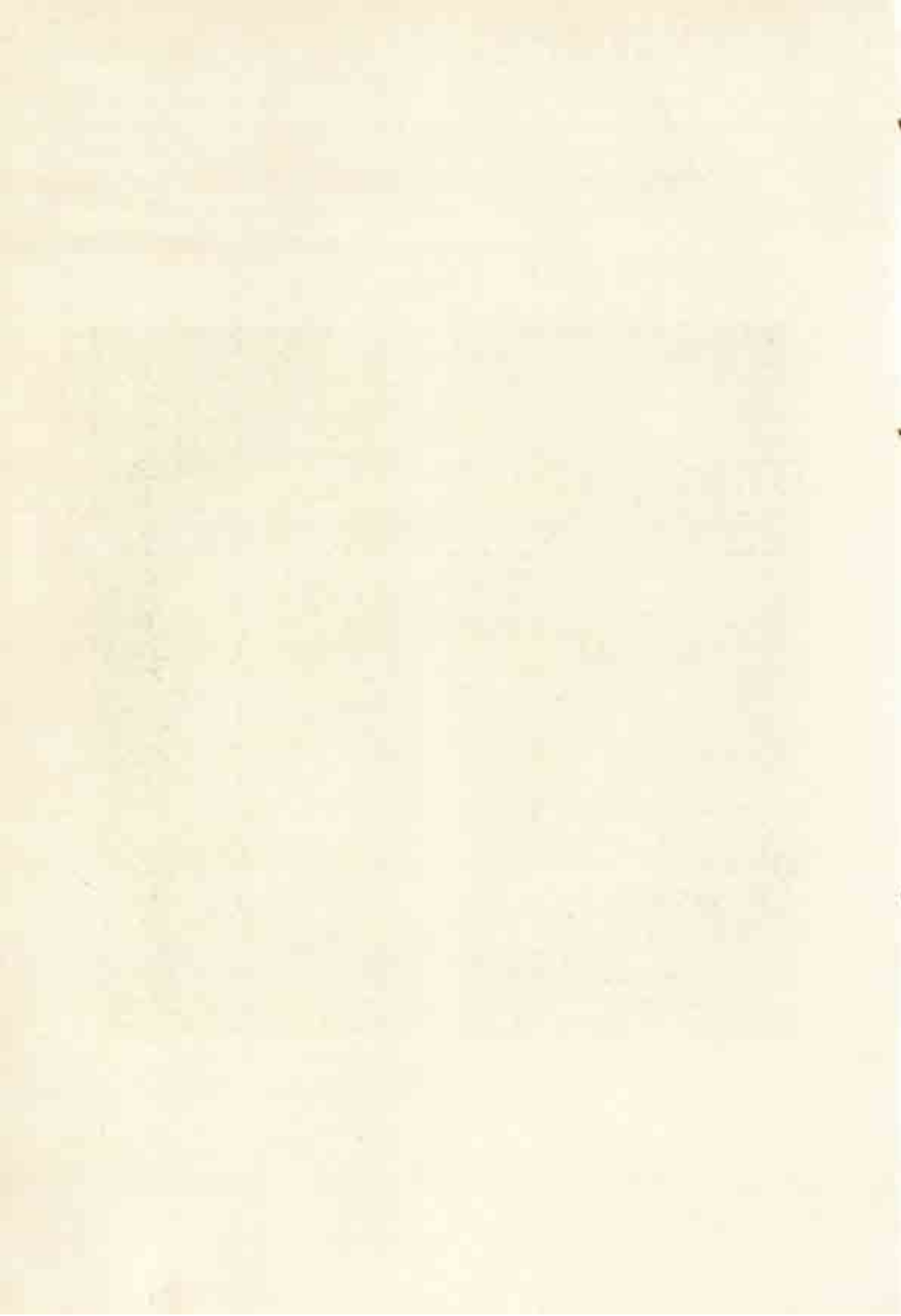
Hands and feet of both sexes appear small and fine.







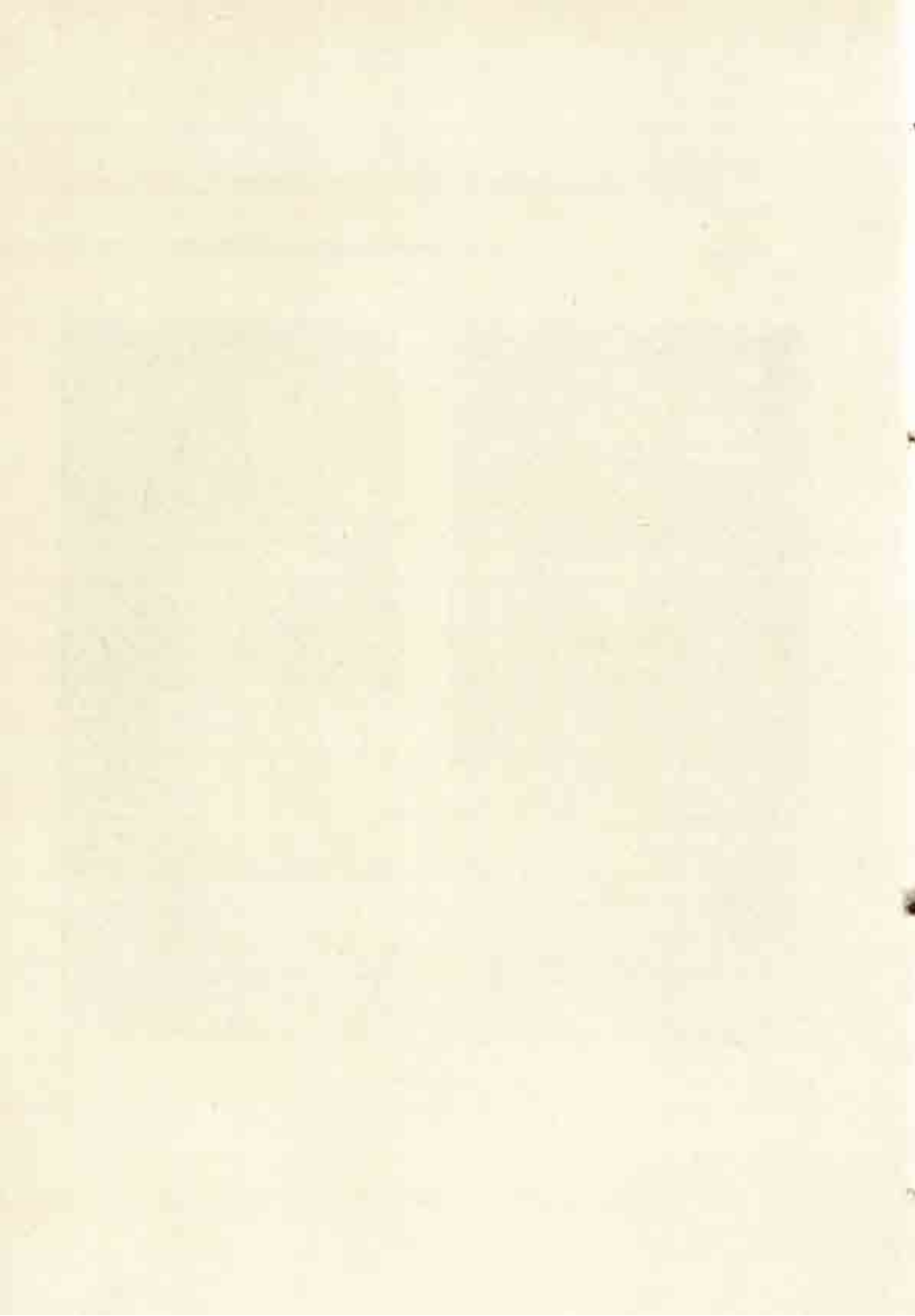
Lawa man.







Каннан.





Lawa woman.





## NOTES TO TABLES.

*Skin.* A Chocolate brown.

*Hair.* Black with a brown tinge: wavy compared with the lank hair of Tai.

*Eyes.* Brown: straighter than those of the Tai, and without the skin-fold in the corner.

*Fashions Hair.* The men wear their hair short, in some cases very short; the women part their hair down the middle—in contrast with the Tai.

The following notes were made upon the men.

All the older men were tattooed from the waist to below the knee, and many were tattooed on the back, chest and fore-arms. As in the case with their Tai neighbors, the younger men are not tattooed lower than half way down the thigh, and sometimes only on one leg. Most of them are tattooed on the arms, or back or chest, but not to quite the same extent as the senior men. They wear their hair short like the Tai.

- No. 3. has a pleasant, intelligent face.
- No. 5. has a good nose.
- No. 7. a slight moustache.
- No. 10. good eye-brows, small elongated ears, no lobes.
- No. 11. bushy hair.
- No. 12. has a wide face.
- No. 15. fairly straight hair and a big nose.
- No. 24. heavy eyebrows.
- No. 26. short, curly and very wavy hair.
- No. 27. hazle-brown eyes.
- No. 28. a big-boned man.
- No. 29. a prominent nose, with heavy eye-brows.
- No. 33. a broad nose, fairly straight.
- No. 34. and 35, heavy eye-brows.
- No. 37. small ears.
- No. 41. short nose, small ears, good teeth.
- No. 42. thin eye-brows, small ears.
- No. 44. big ears.
- No. 45. a big-boned man.
- No. 46. small prominent ears, good eye-brows.

- No. 47. small ears, good teeth.  
 No. 49. small ears.  
 No. 56. good eye-brows, hairy legs.  
 No. 59. heavy eye-brows.

Six women were measured five of whom were under 30 years of age, and three had remarkably fine breasts (Nos. 16, 17, 18.) while Nos. 19 and 20 had slight tatoo marks on their fore-arms. No. 8, was the wife of No. 2, and No. 16 the daughter of No. 39.

#### APPENDIX II

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAWA

by

E. Seidenfaden.

##### (1) *Changvat Chiengmai*:

*Amp'ae Ban Mae*, S. S. W. of Chiengmai:

Ban Biang, the inhabitants are Lawa but now all speak Tai.

*Amp'ae Muang Hôt* on both banks of Me Ping S. S. W. of Chiengmai: Bô Luang, Bô Sa-ngae, Bô Pākwaen, Bô Nā Fon and Bô Wang Gông all with a pure Lawa population.

Bô Sali (2 villages) Lawa mixed with Tai and a few Khamu also Bo Gong Loi.

At Dôi Khun Dan (Tambon Khun Dan), a former Lawa village, débris of pottery found.

Ungoi is a sub-district of Hôt S. S. W. of Muang Hôt, a former Lawa stronghold.

*Amp'ae Mue Rim* North of Chiengmai:

Following villages said to be Lawa:

Ban Tha Kilek Noi, Ban Tha Kilek-Luang, Ban Ba-ngae and Ban Muang Ga.

*Amp'ae San Mahaphon* due north of Chiengmai at the upper reaches of Me Ping. On Mae Taeng are found ruins of an old village, explored by Mr. Miles, of The Borneo Co., Ltd., who found an image of the Buddha and was told that many images had been taken from here down to Bangkok. This place is said to have been an important Lawa settlement.

*Amp'ae San Sai*:

Following villages are said to be Lawa:—

Ban Lau, Ban Sali Ngam and Ban Bong.



*Amp'ae Chienng Duw:*

Ban Bak Tham.

*Amp'ae Mae Sarieng* or Muang Yuam in the Salwin valley. In this district lies Umphai (North of the Amphoe village) which is inhabited by healthier Lawa. Their strong-hold may also be reached from Bo Luang by marching 40—50 Kilometers towards N. W. The Umphai Lawa, about 300 in number, are weavers and supply the Amphoe Hôt Lawa with part of their clothing. The Bô Luang Lawa are said to come from Umphai. The clan living there speaks however a dialect slightly different from that of Bô Luang and Bô Sali. They are held in disdain by the Amphoe Hôt Lawa because they do not profess Buddhism, eat dogs and are uncleanly in their habits. To judge from Photographs they look a better set up people than the Bô Luang people having more clean features. Their women wear gaiters of cloth. Umphai is situated in very difficult inaccessible hills. To reach it from Bô Luang at least 4 days march is necessary. Elephants are to be preferred for transport, since water is very scarce along the route.

(2) *Changvat Mae Hongson.*

On the hills forming the divide are found a great number of Lawa tombs, now mostly rifled for their contents.

(3) *Changvat Nakhon Lampang.*

In the town of Lampang there was formerly a renowned Lawa spirit shrine. The Lawa from Ban Tha Chang, Na Vierng, Sala, and Amphoe Go Kha used to go every year to worship at this shrine. All the above villages are now completely Tai.

*Amp'ae Chachom* N. N. E. of Lampang.

Tambon Chaesôn—Ban Muang To, the inhabitants still speak Lawa.

*Amp'ae Hanghatr* on the railway line W. N. W. of Lampang.

Tambon Mae San—Lawa of origin but now speaking Tai with a Lawa accent.

(4) *Changvat Chiengrai.*

Around Old Chiengsaen are said to live some Lawa.

(This according to the Saravat in Bô Luang.

(5) *Changvat Phrae.*

According to legend a Lawa prince ruled here in ancient days.

Ban Yang Oi is said to be a Lawa village.

## APPENDIX III

## APPENDIX TO HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

by

E. Seidenfaden.

The Lawa,<sup>(1)</sup> who called themselves Lavu'a, constituted a large part of the early population of Northern Siam, according to the Pali work entitled *Cāmadevivamsa*. This chronicle relates how the daughter of an independent Môn ruler, whose capital was at Lopburi, then called Lavo or Lavapuri, was sent on a kind of civilizing mission to the North where she founded Hariphunchai, the present Lamphun, about the year 660 A.D. The valley of the Upper Me Ping was at that time populated by the rude Milakkha or Lova, i.e., Lawa, and to them the Môn princess, later crowned a queen of Haripunjaya, brought civilization and the Buddhist religion.<sup>(2)</sup>

It seems reasonably certain that the Môn from Central Siam, where we find them organized in the kingdom of Dvāravati already in the 6th century A.D., expanded their dominion, at the latest during the 8th century, to North Siam where they built the towns of Haripunjaya (Lamphun) and Khelānga (Lampang). The Lawa were considered by the Môn as a kind of savage cousins, both belonging to the Môn-Khmer group, a branch of the ancient Austro-Asiatic race.

To begin with, the Lawa did not receive the Môn invaders in a friendly way, and it was only after having been beaten in war that they accepted the Môn hegemony. According to the *Cāmadevivamsa*, the Lawa of the present Changvat Chiangmai were ruled by a powerful king, a Milakkharāja, named Milaṅkkhaa, who had his capital at Doi Suthep to the west of present day Chiangmai. This king considered himself sufficiently great to demand Queen Cāmadevi in marriage after the death of her husband the Môn prince of Ramaññanagara; and when he met with refusal he attacked Haripunjaya at the head of an army of 80,000 warriors. However, Queen

(1) By the Northern Tai they are called *Lua*, the word *Lawa* being a Siamese term. They call themselves *La-wu a*.

(2) For the important part played by the Môn in the history of North Siam, vide BEFEO, vol. XXV, *Documents sur l'Histoire politique et religieuse du Laos Occidental*, by G. Coedès which gives the text and translation of both *Cāmadevivamsa* and *Jinakulamālinī*.

Cāmadevi's eldest son, Mahantaysa, seated on a splendid white elephant, sent as a gift by the gods, issued from the western gate of Haripuñjaya with his army and beat the enemy who fled in terror and confusion.

Not long after this victory on the part of the Môn colonists, the twin sons of Cāmadevi are married to daughters of the Lawa king, and thereafter there is a complete union of the two peoples Môn and Lawa—probably due to more intermarrying.

In another Pali chronicle *Jinakālamālinī*, it is record that about 880 A. D. a Lawa prince, Lakkhundriya, or Milakkhamahārāja by name seized Haripuñjaya and ruled it for three years, and then withdrew. This Lawa prince seems, however, to have come from the present Shan States.

At the time of the Tai conquest of Siam the Lawa played a political role. In 1281 the Tai prince Meng-rai expelled the last Môn king from Haripuñjaya (Lamphun) and proceeded to seize Lampang, where he appointed a Lawa chief as ruler.

At present no Lawa population is found near the city of Chiengmai, but certain traditions point to their former presence there. Thus, for instance, it is said that the place actually occupied by the Royal Pages School was the former Lawa king's pleasure garden, and that a palace stood there. The capital of the Lawa king, who fought Queen Cāmadevi, lay, according to tradition, on a small level clearing on the mountain behind the Doi Suthep temple at a height of about 3,000 feet.

Here, it is also said, are situated the Royal Lawa tombs.

As the Lawa are a dwindling race—in Bô Luang they marry late and have only few children—it is of the utmost importance to carry out as soon as possible a complete survey of the remaining communities and through them collect evidence of their former settlements in order to arrive at a correct idea of original extension of the habitat of this interesting and by no means unsympathetic people.

We know of their former and present presence in the Changvats of Chiengmai, Chiengrai and Lampang; and, according to the traditional history of Tāt Chô Hae, which begins characteristically with *Ai Phroya Lawa kab mīa mūn*, there are traces of them in Præ. In the Changvat of Maehongsorn there are still a few Lawa communities left, and here are also found a considerable number of ancient Lawa tombs. But unhappily most of these have been rifled for their interesting contents.



Besides the population of the former Circles or monthons of Phayab and Maharāstra, we know of a former Lawa population on the middle course of the Me Ping, which still existed there in the beginning of the 16th century A.D. According to an inscription dated 1510 A.D. the pious but shadowy "king" of Sukhothai, Cī Dharmā-gokarāja, admonished his subjects not to sell their cattle to the impious Lawa cow eaters (Coulès, *RIS*, XIII, 2). Colonel Gerini in his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 143, says that these Lawa had a capital at Mu'ang Sōi, somewhere about Raheng, of which traces are still to be seen in the jungle near Keng Soi.

Furthermore in spite of the more than 900 years of Môn rule and that of the succeeding Tai it seems that the Lawa blood still persisted so much at the end of the 16th century that the Burmese invaders considered the Tai Yuan to belong to that race. This is proved by the advice of the Burmese king to Prince Nawrataza, who had been appointed viceroy of Chiangmai in 1579, that when speaking to the Chiangmai nobles the prince must not hurt their feelings by treating them as Lawa.<sup>(1)</sup>

To conclude this historical sketch of the Lawa I may as well take this opportunity to plead guilty to a serious error committed by me when translating and commenting on a paper written in 1921 by the then Governor of Petchaboon on the Chaobun who officially were called Lawa.<sup>(2)</sup> Not having had any occasion to meet the true Lawa or to read about them up till that time I adopted the official term and treated the Chaobun as Lawa. Dr. A. Kerr, formerly for many years a member of the Council of the Siam Society, after a visit to the Bò Luang Lawa found out this error of mine and pointed it out in a paper published in 1927 in the *JSS*.<sup>(3)</sup>

I now have no doubt as to the correctness of Dr. Kerr's contention that the Lawa and Chaobun are different peoples and that their languages differ very much indeed. On the other hand it is not doubtful that both of them belong to the Môn-Khmer group of peoples and languages.

(1) *Huannan Yazucun Dawgyi*, translated by Phra Phraisorn Salataks in *JSS*, vol. XII, 1918.

(2) Phra Phetchabumburi, *The Lawa or Chaobun in Changwat Petchaboon*, *JSS*, vol. XIV, 1921.

(3) Dr. A. Kerr, *Two Lawa vocabularies*, *JSS*, vol. XXI, 1927, pp. 53-99.







PLATE I

Medallion in commemoration of the Siamese Embassy to France, 1686.

From *Histoire de France*, Collection d'Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



FOUR FRENCH STATE MANUSCRIPTS<sup>(1)</sup>

relating to Embassies between France and Siam  
in the xviii century

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON, M.A. Cantab.

## FOREWORD

Between the years 1680 and 1688, Siam sent three separate political missions to France:—

- (1) Under P'ra P'ipat, an Embassy in 1680, which was lost at sea;
- (2) Under Khun Walit and Khun P'ichit, escorted by Father Vachet in 1684 to enquire into the fate of P'ra P'ipat, and to replace him in case of need;
- (3) Under P'ra Wisut Sunt'on, an Embassy in 1686. P'ra Wisut is commonly known as Kosa Pan.

In reply, France sent two expeditions:—

The first, political, in 1685, under Ambassador de Chaumont;

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(1) The four manuscripts presented are as follows:—

1. Quai d'Orsay, *Mémoires et Documents*, Asie 11, 59–59v<sup>o</sup>: Draft of Louis XIV's second letter to King P'ra Narai.
2. Quai d'Orsay, *Mémoires et Documents*, Asie 11, 70–71<sup>o</sup>: P'ya K'osa's letter to Colbert in 1683; a French translation by Bishop Laneau.
3. Archives Nationales, *Négociations*, K. 1368, No. 28: Chevalier de Chaumont's report on his embassy to Siam.
4. Quai d'Orsay, *Mémoires et Documents*, Asie 11, 33–43: Notes for the use of the King's envoys to Siam.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY:

a) the following are sources of MSS consulted:—

1. at the Foreign Missions in rue du Bac, Paris (M.E.): in addition to those quoted by Launay, les *Mémoires* de Bénigne Vachet.

The second, military and political, in 1687, under General Desfarges accompanied by the plenipotentiaries, Céberet and La Loubère.

The circumstances which gave rise to these Embassies had their origin much earlier in the century.

In 1657, when Pra Narai came to the throne, the power of the Dutch in south-eastern Asia had increased to such an extent as to appear a menace to Siamese independence.

During the previous reign of Prasat Tong (1629-57), the Dutch had profited by domestic troubles among their English rivals to improve their own holdings in the East, and had used force to achieve their purpose. In 1629 they showed they could be ruthless by the massacre of English and Japanese at Amboyna rather than risk losing it to them. In 1641 they captured Malacca from the Portuguese, thus obtaining command of the Straits. About the same time they succeeded in exacting compensation from Cambodia for the murder of a Dutchman. In 1649, by a display of force against Siam, they improved the advantageous position they had already won in the trade of that country.

2. at the Propaganda Fede, Piazza di Spagna, Rome: MSS containing letters from Tachard, etc., (Scritture riferite nei Congressi).

b) Reference is made in the text to the following publications:

1. *Journal du voyage de Siam en forme de lettres familières*, par M.-L.-D.-C. (Abbé de Choisy), Paris, 1685, 1770, 1930.

2. *Étude historique sur les relations de la France et du royaume de Siam de 1662 à 1703* . . . . by Lucien Lanier, Versailles, 1883.

Contains references to MSS at the Ministry of Marine and Colonies at Paris.

3. *L'expédition de Siam au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, by Etienne Gallois, extract from "Moniteur Universel", Aug. 1850.

Contains references to MSS at the Ministry of Marine and Colonies at Paris.

4. *A record of relations between Siam and foreign countries*, Bangkok, 1916.

Contains reprints of the MSS at the India-Office relating to Siam in the XVIIIth century.

5. *Histoire de la Mission de Siam, 1662-1811*, by Adrien Lamou, Paris, 1920.

Contains extracts from the Mémoires of de Choisy and Vachet, and reprints of letters by de Lionne, of Phanlon's instructions to Tachard, etc. With references to their source as the Archives of the Foreign Missions.

Manuscripts at the Foreign Missions are denoted by the letters M. E. followed by volume and folio number. Those at the Propaganda in Rome, by the letters: Scr. Rif.

In 1664, the seventh year of P'ra Narai's reign, the Dutch repeated their bullying tactics, and thereby obtained fresh concessions from Siam. Their conquest of the Celebes caused the King of the Macassars to take refuge in Siam, where his presence served to remind P'ra Narai of the power and menace of Holland.

To meet this menace, the policy of P'ra Narai appears to have been to offer a Concession in the territory of his vassals in the Peninsula to one of the European rivals of the Dutch. This rival Power was to be permitted to erect fortifications in the Concession and garrison it with troops who would be ready to assist Siam in the event of trouble with the Dutch, but was not invited to settle in purely Siamese territory.

An offer was first made to the English. Their Agency at Ayut'ia had been re-opened in 1674 by three representatives of the East India Company, who came from Bantam in Java. The Siamese offered them the port of Patani, which they were to fortify as the English in India had fortified Madras. A young Englishman, Samuel Potts, was sent down to the Peninsula with orders to report to the Company upon the value of the Siamese offer. He found Patani engaged in a local war. The parent Agency at Bantam insisted that the Siamese should contract to buy a fixed amount of goods each year from the Company, and meeting with a refusal, decided to withdraw its interest from Siam. This decision was confirmed by a letter from the Board of the East India Coy in London, in which the offer of the Siamese was definitely refused.<sup>(1)</sup>

Meanwhile, French Missionaries had established themselves at Ayut'ia in 1662, and eventually attracted the notice of P'ra Narai. The result of their intercourse with the Court of Siam was twofold: P'ra Narai heard from them of Louis XIV and his victories over the Dutch in Europe, and decided to court the friendship of France; while the Missionaries, assuming that P'ra Narai's interest was of a religious nature, formed hopes of converting him to Christianity.

Bishop Pallu, the founder of the Mission, was a statesman and a patriot as well as a great Ecclesiastic. Side by side with his desire to convert the East, two other objects are apparent in his letters, namely a desire to obtain the interest of France in Siam with a

(1) 5th of January 1681, V. *Record of Relations*, vol. iii, p. 7.



view to securing his communications by regular visits of French merchantmen to Siam, and a desire to increase his country's renown.<sup>(1)</sup> During the periods which intervened between his three visits to Siam he succeeded in obtaining letters from Louis XIV to Pra Narai containing an acknowledgement of the hospitality which the Missionaries enjoyed in Siam. The first letter, (MSS. No. I.), was presented to Pra Narai in 1673, and the second in 1681. Pra Narai's unsuccessful attempt to obtain the interest of England occurred during the interval between the presentation of these two letters.

After receiving Louis' first letter, Pra Narai conceived the idea of despatching envoys to France. That country however was at war with Holland, and although victorious on land, was not able to destroy the Dutch fleet which retained command of the sea until the peace of Nimeguen in 1679 opened the eastern seas more effectively to French ships. This fact accounts for Pra Narai's delay in sending his first Embassy to France.

The Ambassador selected to represent Siam at the French Court was Pra Pip'at Rachamaitri, an elderly diplomat, who had already led three Embassies to China. His companions were Luang Sri Wisan and Khun Nak'on Wichai. Father Gayme, the most promising of the French younger Missionaries, accompanied the Embassy as Interpreter.<sup>(2)</sup> The party sailed from Ayut'ia on the 24th of December, 1680, in the *Vautour* which the French East India Company sent from Surat to collect them.

The voyage from Paknam to Bantam was effected in the record time of eleven days, but the party was detained there for eight months until the arrival of the *Soleil d'Orient* bound for France in August 1681. This ship watered at Mauritius, but was not heard of again.

In 1683 news reached Siam that the Embassy was still expected in Europe. Pra Narai thereupon ordered the despatch of two minor officials to France. They were to ascertain the reason of Pra Pip'at's non-arrival, and in the event of his death were to ask for suggestions from the French Court concerning the best means of cementing the growing friendship between the two countries. Father B. Vachet

(1) v. Lannay, M.E., 856, p. 10.

(2) v. Lannay, M.E., 110, p. 205.

was appointed Adviser and Interpreter, but he appears to have assumed the role of leader when they reached France.<sup>(1)</sup>

MS No2. is Bishop Laneau's translation of the letter from P'ya Kosa, Minister of Treasury, to the French Foreign Minister, Colbert, the able successor of Cardinal Mazarin. P'ya Kosa died soon after Vachet's departure, and was succeeded by P'ya Sri Tammarat, a man of straw, who acted as the mouth-piece of the King's Greek favourite, Constantine Phaulkon. The latter, even before P'ya Kosa's death, had commissioned a retiring Missionary, Father Pasco who travelled in Vachet's ship, to carry his respects to the East India Coy and presents for King Charles II, also to make purchases for the Siamese Court in England. This commission however appears to have been unproductive in political results.

Colbert was dead when Vachet landed in France, and his reception fell to de Seignelay, who lacked Colbert's genius and authority.

Louis XIV, after Colbert's restraining influence was removed, no longer permitted his Ministers to work out a policy for him; he regarded them simply as the agents for the execution of his own policy; and that policy tended to become more and more the policy of the Jesuits who controlled his conscience.

The Jesuits had a powerful ally in Louis' favourite, Madame de Maintenon, whom they had converted from Protestantism. Under her influence Louis became the tool of the Jesuits, whose policy was to exploit the great power of France in Europe for the benefit of the militant and intolerant elements in the Catholic world. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes—a charter of religious freedom in France—and the despatch of an Embassy to Siam to convert its King to Catholicism were signals of the change which had occurred in the foreign policy of France after the death of Colbert, who had endeavoured to continue Cardinal Richelieu's policy of alliance with the liberal Powers against Spain and the Holy Roman Empire.

A State Paper concerning Vachet's Mission<sup>(2)</sup> omits an important detail mentioned in his own Memoirs. Vachet states that on his arrival in Paris, the Court at first refused to consider P'ra Narai's suggestion that France should send envoys to Siam. But after Vachet had been received by Father de La Chaise, the latter became

(1) Launay, M. E., III, p. 141.

(2) Quat d'Orsay, M. et D. Asie, II, 37.

interested in Siam on learning that Phaulkon, the King's favourite, was a recent Convert of the Portuguese Jesuits. Vachet says that it was only after this interview with de La Chaise that de Seignelay received the Envoy: he then told them that France was preparing an Embassy for Siam to urge its King to accept Christianity.

Both the State Paper and Vachet's Memoirs leave no doubt concerning Louis XIV's interest in proselytising in Siam. His intention appears to have been to ask for P'ra Narai's conversion as the price Siam was to pay for alliance with France. So long as there appeared to be any prospect of imposing Christianity on Siam, the offer of Singora was not even considered by Louis.

Two men-of-war were detailed to carry the Embassy to Siam. Their names and those of their officers together with the personnel of the Embassy are given by de Choisy in the delightful account of his journey published under the title *Journal du voyage de Siam*. de Choisy was chosen to accompany the Chevalier de Chaumont as assistant, and was commissioned to instruct and baptise P'ra Narai if the latter agreed to change his faith.

Vachet and the two Siamese Envoys sailed back to Siam in the ship which carried the French Ambassador and de Choisy. The French Navy supplied a Battleship *L'Oiseau* of 45 guns. Her officers were:

Captain, de Vaudricourt;  
1st Mate, de Coriton;  
2nd Mate, Chevalier de Forbin;  
Midshipman, de Francine.

Three naval officers of de Chaumont's suite accompanied him in this vessel, namely, Messrs de Grandmaison, de Fréteville, and Chevalier du Fay. The passengers also included six Jesuit Astronomers, Fathers de Fontaney, Tachard, Le Comte, Gerbillon, Bouvet and de Visdelou, with a full equipment of telescopes, sextants, etc., a list of which is given in de Choisy's book.

The six Jesuits carried letters patent issued by Louis XIV. on the 28th of January 1685, ordering them to proceed to India and China in order to take such observations as were necessary to correct existing charts in the interest of science and of safety at sea. Although not officially commissioned for Siam, their services were used there to minister to P'ra Narai's interest in scientific matters; and with the exception of Fr. Tachard, who returned to France when the Embassy was over, they appear to have remained in Siam for some time.



The remainder of de Chaumont's suite consisted of six gentlemen, Messrs. de Bebeville, d'Arbouville, Palu, de Compiègne, de la Forest, and Joncoux. They travelled in a naval frigate, *La Maligne*, of 24 guns, under Captain Joyeux, and his mates, de Sibois and de Chammoreau.

de Choisy's description of the voyage out and home is well worth reading. Each voyage occupied about six months, but only one casualty occurred, the death of young d'Arbouville, who was buried in the Gulf of Siam.

The third manuscript is de Chaumont's account of his Embassy. He had to admit that the idea of converting P'ra Narai by the aid of diplomacy came as a surprise both to the French Bishop in Siam, Mgr. Laneau, and to Phaulkon, whose services he solicited on the Bishop's advice.

de Chaumont persisted however in urging P'ra Narai to adopt Christianity, and having obtained no tangible result after three audiences with the King, he presented his request in writing. The reply he received to this petition laid stress upon reasons of domestic policy, which for the moment prevented the King from acceding to the Ambassador's request.

Phaulkon then admitted to de Chaumont that at the Audiences at which he was Interpreter he had considered it wise to suppress de Chaumont's references to religion. This admission throws suspicion upon the French version which de Chaumont gives of P'ra Narai's written statements, since they also must have been translated by Phaulkon.

Finally, having made no progress with the King's conversion, de Chaumont consented to discuss with Phaulkon the terms of concessions to French traders and missionaries which were offered for acceptance by Louis XIV.

The outstanding feature of the proposals is the grant of extra-territoriality to French subjects in Siam who were not engaged in the Siamese service. Singora was to be fortified by the French, and used by them for whatever purposes they desired. They were also to enjoy the monopoly of tin at Puket, subject to the proviso that they supplied the needs, not specified, of the local population. Religious freedom was offered to priests and converts subject to certain conditions.

Both de Choisy and the Bishop's Adviser, de Lionne, were doubtful whether the suggested concessions carried any authority other than that of Phaulkon. Their suspicions were excited by the request made by Phaulkon that the concessions regarding Singora and the missionaries should be kept secret until ratified by Louis XIV. The religious concessions, though by no means sensational, were only produced in their final form just as de Chaumont was about to leave, when he had no time to discuss them.

de Chaumont made the mistake of showing the Siamese that he desired Pra Narai's conversion as ardently as the latter desired an alliance with France. At his final audience before leaving Siam, he shocked de Choisy<sup>(1)</sup> by rashly promising to publish the Franco-Siamese alliance upon his arrival at Batavia, although all he had obtained from the Siamese was their offers which still had to be submitted to Louis XIV for approval, and a very vague hope of developing Pra Narai's interest in Christianity.

de Choisy had obtained Phaulkon's private opinion that the chances of converting Pra Narai were nil; he passed this on to de Chaumont; the latter persisted however in staking everything upon his forlorn hope of converting the King, and thereby lost a fine opportunity of gaining concrete results.

The fourth MS is a draft of Observations on Trade for the French Envoys who accompanied the military expedition in 1686 to Siam. They seem to criticise de Chaumont's insistence upon the religious issue instead of demanding complete freedom of trade for the French in Siam. de Chaumont by implication was blamed for not discovering exactly what obligations the French would be required to meet in return for the monopoly of tin at Puket, also for accepting Singora blindly before comparing its merits with those of Iakon, Mergui and Puket as a naval base and trading station. The observations required the Envoys to make searching enquiries into such matters and to conclude a final treaty satisfactory to French trade with Siam, which was to be linked up with trade between France and the Madras coast of India. Saltpetre and pepper appear to have been the items of chief interest to France in Siamese trade.

The monopoly of tin at Puket appears to presuppose a French settlement at that place. Before deciding to accept it, the Envoys

(1) V. *Mémoires de M. de Choisy*, M. E., 8, p. 1.

were to consider whether a settlement on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal might not be made more profitably at Mergui. In any case it was assumed that the French would make a settlement in one or other of these two towns.

The offer of Singora as the site for a French fortified post was not to be accepted until the rival merits of Lakon had been weighed. Reference is then made to a promise that Bangkok was to be occupied by the French, and the possibility is envisaged that the King of Siam would not tolerate a French fortified settlement at Singora and Lakon as well as at Bangkok, in which case the Envoys were to rest content with an unfortified trading post at either Singora or Lakon, contenting themselves with a garrison at Bangkok. The question of garrison at Puket or Mergui was not broached in the Envoys' instructions. The settlement ultimately achieved was that French troops were admitted into the garrison at Bangkok on the understanding that they took an oath of allegiance to the King of Siam, and a detachment was sent later to Mergui, which place was chosen for a settlement on the Bay of Bengal. We possess no proof that any settlements were attempted at Singora, Lakon or Puket after the return of the Envoys to France.

The alleged offer of Bangkok is of importance, since reliable indications point to the conclusion that Bangkok was never offered officially to de Chaumont by the Siamese. This evidence may be summarised as (1) de Chaumont's own report; (2) de Choisy's and de Lionne's memoirs, relevant extracts of which are reproduced in Launay's book; (3) Phaulkon's secret instructions to Tachard (also reproduced by Launay) in which no mention was made of Bangkok or of a French military expedition. Phaulkon commissioned Father Tachard after de Chaumont's failure to lay his own plan for the Christianisation of Siam before Louis XIV through the medium of Louis' confessor, Father de La Chaise. It consisted in enrolling a party of French gentlemen for service in Siam. Phaulkon guaranteed to find posts for them as governors of towns, etc., and hoped by their influence to persuade the populace to adopt the new religion.<sup>(1)</sup> The plan was accepted by Louis, as is proved by a letter from Tachard, written on the 4th of January 1690, which states that

(1) Launay, M. E., 879, p. 151.



these gentlemen were ready to sail in March 1689, but were disbanded when news of Phaulkon's death reached France.<sup>(1)</sup>

de Choisy was de Chaumont's second in the Embassy, and it is incredible that he should have been ignorant of such an important unofficial offer to his chief as that of Bangkok, since he was responsible for maintaining contact between Phaulkon and de Chaumont. Had he been aware of the offer, would he not have mentioned it in his private memoirs which were written without reserve?

Lastly, the Abbé de Lionne, a shrewd observer of political matters in Siam, who accompanied the expedition, expressly states that when it reached Java on its way to Siam, Father Tachard was sent on in advance to prepare Phaulkon for the determination of the French to occupy Bangkok, and that on its arrival, Tachard came on board and told de Lionne that they were to be admitted.<sup>(2)</sup>

Lanier and Gallois quote state papers showing that the French troops were only admitted on terms, namely, that they took an oath of allegiance to King Pra Narai and that these terms were distasteful to the Envoys but were accepted by Desfarges, the General in command of the expedition, who realised that his men were in no condition to fight after the voyage, during which a third of their number had perished from sickness.

In the *Illustrated History of France*<sup>(3)</sup> at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, there is an explanatory note to the following effect below the medallion which is reproduced on plate I:—

"Monsieur Constance suggested offering the town of Bangkok to France on condition that an expedition was sent out with ships, soldiers and engineers together with funds to support them. The Chevalier de Chaumont and his Aide, the Abbé de Choisy, did not lend themselves to this proposal. A Jesuit named Tachard, who acted as interpreter, suggested to the Minister that support for his plan might be obtained from Father de La Chaise through Tachard's mediation. He succeeded in obtaining it, and the plan went through, but it only lasted two or three years."

The unreliability of the writer of this note is proved by his state-

(1) MSS at Propaganda Fede, Rome, Ser. Rif., V, 239.

(2) Launay, M. E., 850, p. 79.

(3) *Histoire de France*, Collection d'Estampes, Q. 49.

ment that Tachard acted as interpreter between de Chaumont and the King of Siam. Tachard came to Siam for the first time with de Chaumont: his previous service had been in America. It is thus impossible that he could have acted as interpreter, a rôle played by Phaulkon, as stated in de Chaumont's report.

Documentary evidence that the French Military expedition to Bangkok came out in response to an invitation to occupy that town rests upon this discredited note to the Medallion and upon the strength of our MS No. IV, in which two out of the three references have been written in by a second hand.<sup>(1)</sup>

The note accompanying the medallion is only important in so far as it records what was subsequently believed in France. The manuscript however was composed before the expedition left France, and it states that Bangkok was offered to the French. The two corrections deal with an acceptance of the invitation.

The following is offered as an explanation:—

Father Tachard, S. J., was one of the six astronomers despatched by Louis to the East for scientific research, who travelled as far as Siam with de Chaumont's Embassy, and who were present in Siam during its stay there. Tachard is known to have developed close and intimate relations with Phaulkon while the negotiations were in progress, and was actually entrusted by the latter with the secret mission to the French Court already mentioned. Tachard would know that the King of Siam had asked de Chaumont for the services of one of the members of his staff, de Forbin, to modernise the defences of Bangkok, and he may conceivably have concluded that since the Bangkok forts were already commanded by a Frenchman, they might be considered

(1) It is true that the published version of de Choisy's *Mémoires* (ed. Michaud and Poujoulat) on p. 612, contains the statement that Phaulkon made an offer of Bangkok to de Chaumont and de Choisy which they refused. Absence of all reference to this statement in the unedited version of these *Mémoires*, (M.E. vol. 8.), reduces it for purposes of evidence to the same level as the medallion.

Virgile Pinot, in his recently published work, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France*, quotes many instances of the "editing" of published works on the part of the Jesuits, and emphasises the preponderating of Tachard, writing on p. 58:—

"Et même nous pouvons nous demander jusqu'à quel point le Jésuite « s'était laissé entortiller par la faconde du Levantin, et, si dans cette négociation qu'ils semblaient mener d'un commun accord, il n'y avait pas une « dupe, qui était précisément Phaulkon."

as promised to French occupation. In that case he would see little difficulty in drafting in French soldiers to help de Forbin in Bangkok when the question came up in Paris of sending out troops with the Envoys to man the stronghold of Singora that had been officially offered to the French by Siam.

The insecurity of Phaulkon's position and the advantage to him of the presence of a friendly garrison at Bangkok are obvious. It is possible that Tachard, realising this fact, let it be known in Paris that Phaulkon would welcome a foreign garrison at Bangkok rather than Singora, and that gradually the idea became prevalent in Paris that Bangkok, being already under the command of a Frenchman, was a potential French garrison town.

It must be remembered that de Chaumont set out for Siam with the avowed object of effecting the conversion of the Siamese King in return for an alliance with France, and that he came home without achieving his purpose, bringing with him the offer of Singora as a military base. The object of de Chaumont's Embassy had been subjected to ridicule by La Bruyère, who wrote:—

"We travel to the ends of the Earth to convert the East, in other words, to make proposals out there which, if made to us, would be regarded as laughable and insane."

When de Chaumont returned with somewhat empty hands, Louis appears to have disagreed with the suggestion made to him by Vachet before the Embassy set out, that even failure in so bold a venture would enhance his prestige.

The documents quoted by Lanier and Gallois show that there was irritation in Paris at the poor results of de Chaumont's costly venture together with a feeling that an end must be put to the series of Embassies by which negotiations with Siam were being protracted. The same documents state that Phaulkon later on made no secret of his contempt for de Chaumont.

The suggestion is that Tachard, as Phaulkon's friend, began by discrediting de Chaumont at home, calling attention to his failure to utilise the Siamese request for de Forbin's services at Bangkok, which should have been employed as leverage for obtaining a footing in that place for the French.

The possibility is not excluded that Phaulkon had a notion that the French might send out troops to enable Pra Narai to cope with the Dutch menace and that he allowed Tachard to believe that they would be invited to occupy the new citadel in course of construction



by de Forbin at Bangkok. In any case, in default of conclusive evidence, we must assume that the offer of Bangkok to the French came through Tachard, Phaulkon's secret emissary to Louis; that it was a secret offer unknown both to Kosa Pan, the Siamese ambassador to Louis, and to de Lionne, his Interpreter, who came to France to negotiate on the basis of Pra Narai's offer of Singora as a French garrison town. Tachard was commissioned by Phaulkon to obtain Louis' consent to Phaulkon's private plan for making Siam a christian country with the aid of the Jesuits. Finding opinion in France exasperated against Siam as a result of de Chaumont's failure, Tachard, it is suggested, used the bait of a French garrison in Bangkok to obtain Louis' consent to Phaulkon's plan. The matter could not be made public until Tachard had returned to Siam and obliged Phaulkon to give effect to it.

This theory accounts for the corrections made in the *Observations on Trade for the Envoys*. It also accounts for Tachard's movements in proceeding from Batavia to Siam in advance of the expedition and in meeting it on its arrival at the bar with the news that its admittance into Bangkok had been arranged. The final instructions for the Envoys, which have been published,<sup>(1)</sup> insisted that Bangkok was to be occupied, if necessary by force; though there were good grounds to believe that force would not be needed. These grounds would be reliance upon Tachard's mediation,—according to this explanation which is offered pending the discovery of documentary proof.

For Phaulkon, the day on which he received on Pra Narai's behalf the allegiance of the French troops, may well have seemed to him the proudest day in his life. The French however felt the humiliation of their position. Phaulkon had already antagonised the missionaries: his triumph at their expense lost him the confidence of the Envoys and of the French colony. The result was that a few months later, when he needed the help of missionaries and merchants to persuade the General in charge of the French force to give him its support, he found that his only friends among all the Frenchmen in Siam were a few Jesuit priests who were powerless to help him in his hour of need.

A study of the Franco-Siamese negotiations shows that they were

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(1) Quoted by Etienne Gallois.

conducted on the French side with a faulty knowledge both of the real position regarding a change of religion by the King, also of the chances of success likely to accrue from a military occupation of Bangkok with a small European force, not to mention the difficulty of effecting this occupation.

On the Siamese side, Phaulkon's diplomacy was the result of an attempt to combine his loyalty to Pra Narai and to the Jesuits with his own ends, if we regard them as desire for power and for the support of foreign soldiers upon which he might depend in the event of the King's death.

His failure lay in his Greek aptitude for finesse and trickery which antagonised the French upon whom he relied in the last resort for his personal safety.

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I.

QUAI D'ORSAY, MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS, ASIE, II, 59. <sup>(1)</sup>

(59r) Siam

a St. Germain le 10<sup>e</sup> Janvier 1681.

Du Roy

au Roy de Siam.

tres hault, tres excellent, tres puissant, et tres magnanime Prince,  
Nre tres cher et bon amy. Dieu veuille augmenter Vre, grandeur  
avec fin heureuse.

Nous auons appris par l'euesque dheliopolis et par plusieurs autres  
de nos subiets les obligations essentielles qu'ils nous auoient non  
seulement a cause de la protection que nous leur donnés dans l'exer-  
cice de la religion chrestienne et de la generosite que vous auéz eu de  
leur prester sans interest dans leur extreme besoin vne somme darg;  
considerable mais aussi p<sup>r</sup> leur auoir encore donne de plus grandes  
preunes de votre liberalite en leur faisant bastir une maison pour les  
loger.

Nous serons bien aise aussy de trouuer les occasions de vous  
tesmoigner combien nous sommes sensibles aux marques eclatantes  
que vous auéz donné de la consideration que vous auéz pour nous

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<sup>(1)</sup> The original draft has been emended by two different hands. The above is a transcription of the final version. Since the corrections do not affect the sense of the letter but merely improve its form, a reproduction of the earlier stages through which the text has passed is considered unnecessary.

Cependant nous nous promettons que vous voudrez bien continuer cette mesme protection aux euesques et aux autres missionnaires apostoliques, (59 v) et l'estendre aussi a nos suiets negotians, afinque les uns puissent auoir la liberte de l'exercice de la religion chrestienne dont une des principales maximes est d'establir l'autorite absolue des Roys sur leurs suiets et que les autres y puissent liberement trafiquer mais pour nous marquer le desir veritable que nous auons de recognoistre tous les bienfaits que nos d. suiets ont receus de nous nous vous enuoyons quelques presens que nous auons eü qui nous seroient agreables en attendant que nous puissions vous donner des preuues plus fortes de la haute estime que nous auons pour vous. Sur ce nous prions Dieu quil veuille augmenter Vre grandeur avec fin toute hereuse.

Ecrit a St. germain en laye

le x<sup>e</sup> Januier 1681.

Vre tres cher et bon amy

#### TRANSLATION

at St. Germain the 10th January, 1681.

Siam

From the King to the King of Siam.

Most high, most excellent, most mighty, and most magnanimous Prince, Our good and well-beloved friend. May God grant you increase of Might with happy consummation.

Through the Bishop of Heliopolis and several other subjects of ours we have learnt of the deep debt they owe to you both for the protection you have given them in their observance of the Christian religion, and for your generosity in lending them a substantial sum of money free of interest in the time of their dire need; furthermore, for having given even greater proof of your liberality in ordering a house to be built to lodge them.

We shall be glad also to find opportunities for showing how greatly we appreciate the outstanding proofs you have given of the esteem you bear to us. Meanwhile, we trust you will be willing to continue to give the same protection both to the Bishop and to the other Apostolic missionaries, and to extend it to our subjects engaged in commerce, in order that the former may be free to practise the Christian religion, of which one of the chief maxims is to ensure the



undisputed power of monarchs over their subjects, while the latter will be enabled to trade without hindrance.

As a mark of our true desire to acknowledge all the benefits which our subjects aforesaid have received at your hands, we send you sundry gifts such as we think will please you, pending an opportunity to give you stronger proof of the high regard we have for you.

We hereby pray God that he may grant you increased renown and prosperity.

Written at St. Germain-en-Laye,  
the 10th January, 1681.

Your good and well-beloved friend.

## II

QUAI D'ORSAY, MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS, ASIE, II, NO. 32.

(70r<sup>e</sup>) Lettre que Ookya Seri tarrama Raacha decha tehadi auma tra yamtehitra pipitra tana Ratcha consatibodi piria Paha ookya prachang écrit avec un cœur plein d'affection et de tendresse A Monsieur Charles Colbert grand ministre du tres puissant et tres excellent Prince Le Roy de France a Paris. Comme le tres puissant et tres magnanime Prince le Roy de Siam Monseigneur et le tres puissant et tres magnanime Prince le Roy de France ont un grand désir d'établir entr'eux une amitié et une correspondance ferme et stable, en cette velle le tres puissant et tres magnanime Prince le Roy Monseigneur a enuoyé au tres puissant Prince Le Roy de France ook prapitat raatcha maîtri pour Ambassadeur, et ook louang sri visara sountora, et ook quin nakora vitchai pour lieutenants de l'Ambassade accompagnés du Pere Gayme avec des lettres et des presens pour estre une marque de l'affection et de l'estime extraordinaire qu'il a pour ce grand monarque, et du désir qu'il a que les prosperités dont il jouit augmentent toujours de plus en plus, comme aussy affin que l'amitié qui est Entre ces deux Grands Princes prenne tous les iours de nouveaux accroissements. Lorsque dans l'année raca trini Soue Dom francisco Eûque d'Heliopolis arriua icy avec (70v<sup>e</sup>) des lettres du Saint Pape, et du tres Magnanime Prince le Roy de France, il fut receu avec la magnificence que demandoit la majesté supreme du Grand Roy qui l'envoyoit; Et le tres haut et tres excellent Prince Le Roy Monseigneur apprenant les nouvelles prosperites dont ce Grand Prince se trouvoit comblé en ressentit une joye et une alle-

grosse si grande qu'il n'y a rien a quoy on la puisse comparer. De plus le Grand Roy mon maitre ayant depuis peu receu nouvelles que Monseigneur le Dauphin auoit pris une Auguste et Royale Epouse de laquelle il auoit eü un Royal fils, la joye de ce Grand Roy s'est accrete de telle maniere qu'elle est allée jusqu'a l'excès, considerant ce Royal rejetton comme celuy qui doit un jour perpetuer le Sang Royal de ce Grand Roy, et il prie Dieu qu'il daigne fauoriser ce Royal enfant d'une longue et heureuse vie, pour succeder un jour au trône de ses ancestres souhaittant avec passion que la race et le sang d'un si grand Monarque n'ayt iamais de fin. Ayant donc Enuoyé ses Ambassadeurs nous esperions qu'ils seroient icy dès l'année cho chatouara soc, et ie me preparois a porter les nouvelles de l'heureux succès de la d. Ambassade aux pieds du trône du tres puissant et tres Magnanime (71r<sup>o</sup>) Prince le Roy Monseigneur pour augmenter encore Sa joye; mais le tems de recevoir les nouvelles etant uenu, nous auons appris que le Vaisseau qui portait cette Royale Ambassade n'estoit point encore arriué en France, ce qui nous a causé une grande tristesse; j'allay d'abord me prosterner aux pieds du trône du Roy Monseigneur pour lui en apporter la nouvelle, Sa Royale Majesté d'aigna m'honorer de cette reponse LA ROYALLE AMITIÉ QUI VNIT LE GRAND ROY DE FRANCE AVEC CE ROYAUME DEMEURERA FERME ET INEBRANLABLE, QU'ON ENVOYE SCAVOIR DES NOUVELLES DU SUCCÈS DE CETTE AMBASSADE, ayant receu ces Royales paroles sur le Sommet de ma teste J'enuoye presentement oquun pítchai valid et quun pítchitra maitri avec les Peres Vachet et Pascot pour en apprendre. Je les eý chargé de quelques petits presens dont ils portent le roble qui nous seront un gage de l'estime particulier que jay pour vous, et du desir que jay qu'a l'exemple de nos deux grands monarques nous nous vnissions en une tres solide et durable amitié. Je vous prie avec instance de nous mander ce qui sera arriué aux Ambassadeurs du Roy Monseigneur affin que selon les nouvelles que nous receurons, nous puissions songer a ce qu'il sera conuenable de faire pour la confirmation et augmentation de l'amitié de nos deux grands Princes et pour la rendre durable a jamais. Je laisse a Vostre prudence de juger (71v<sup>o</sup>) et de nous faire sçauoir ce qu'elle estimera plus conuenable pour l'augmentation de cette Royale amitié.

Cette lettre a été eecrite le jour de aantit le 15<sup>e</sup> du mois ai de l'an Sacarat 1045.

La traduction est conforme a l'original Siamois signé Louis Éuè- que de Metellopolis Vic. Aplique de Siam etc

## TRANSLATION

Letter written with a heart full of warm affection by สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช [ ... ] มณฑลโกษาธิบดีวิชัย [ ปรางค์ ] ราช [ ] สมเด็จพระนารายณ์ to Monsieur Charles Colbert,<sup>(1)</sup> chief Minister of the Most Mighty and most excellent Prince, the King of France at Paris.

In view of the strong desire felt both by the Most Mighty and Most Magnanimous Prince, the King of Siam, my Lord, and the Most Mighty and Most Magnanimous Prince, the King of France, to establish amity and communication on a basis of firm and lasting friendship, the Most Mighty and Magnanimous Prince, the King, my Lord, despatched สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช as his ambassador to the Most Mighty King of France, together with สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช and สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช as aides to the Embassy accompanied by Father Gayme, carrying letters and presents to witness to the love and deep regard He has for that great Prince, and to his desire that his prosperity may ever increase, also to the end that the friendship which obtains between these two great Princes may wax daily stronger.

Lord Francis, Bishop of Heliopolis, when he arrived here in the year of the "Cock"—the third of the ten-year cycle—bringing letters from the Holy Pope<sup>(2)</sup> and the most magnanimous prince, the King of France, was received with all the pomp appropriate to the Supreme Majesty of the great King whose envoy he was. The most high and most excellent Prince, the King, my Lord, on hearing of the fresh prosperities showered upon that great Prince, felt such joy and delight in his heart that nothing can be compared unto it.

Furthermore, when the great King, my Lord, lately received news that His Royal Highness, the Dauphin, had had Royal offspring from his august and Royal Consort, his joy reached such a pitch that it knew no bounds, since he regards that Royal offspring as destined one day to perpetuate that mighty Prince's stock, and he prays that Heaven may grant this Royal scion a long and happy life, so that he may succeed to the throne of his ancestors; for it is his dearest wish

<sup>(1)</sup> Charles, name of Marquis de Croissy, has been substituted for Jean Baptiste, the name of his brother, the great Colbert, who died on the 6th of September, 1683.

<sup>(2)</sup> In the French, *Saint Pape* is a rare rendering of *Santo Papa*.



that the family and line of so great a monarch may never pass away.

It was our hope that the Ambassador then despatched, would be back here by the year of "the Dog"—the fourth of the ten-year cycle—and I was making ready to carry news of the fortunate issue of the said Embassy to the steps of the throne of that magnanimous Prince, the King, my Lord, and thereby add to his delight. But at the very time when news was due, we learnt that the ship carrying that Royal Embassy had not yet reached France; which tidings caused us great distress.

My first step was to prostrate myself before my Royal Master's throne in order to impart the news to him. His Majesty graciously honoured me with the following reply:—

"The Friendship which binds the Great King of France with this" realm will continue firm and unshakable. Let Envoys be despatched to obtain news of that Embassy."

Placing these royal words upon the crown of my head, I herewith despatch *พระสุนทรวิจิตร* with *พระสุนทรจิตรไมตรี* and Fathers Vachet and Pascot to obtain that news. I have entrusted to their care several slight offerings, the inventory of which is with them, as earnest of the especial respect I have for you, and of my wish that you and I, like our two great Monarchs, may join together in a bond of strong and lasting friendship.

I ardently beseech you to apprise us with the fate met with by the Ambassadors of the King, my Lord, in order that, acting upon the news we receive, we may apply our thoughts to devise means of sealing and increasing the amity between our two great Princes, to the end that it may last forever.

I leave it to your wisdom to decide upon and communicate to me the steps you consider most appropriate for increasing this Royal friendship.

This letter was written on Sunday the 15th day of the first month of the year 1045<sup>(3)</sup> in the (chula) era. The translation is in accordance with the Siamese original.

Signed. Louis, Bishop of Metellopolis  
Apostolic Vicar in Siam.

<sup>(3)</sup> The Chula era began A. D. 638. Add 1045 = A. D. 1683.

## III

ARCHIVES NATIONALES, NÉGOCIATIONS, K. 1368, No. 98.

(1<sup>re</sup>) RELATION de ce que M.<sup>r</sup> le Ch(eva)lier de Chaumont a fait a Siam.

A son arriueé a la barre de Siam, jl enuoya prier l'Euesque de Meteleopolis de venir a son bord pour l'instruire de ce qui se passoit sur le sujet de son Ambassade.

S'y estant rendu accompagné de l'Abbé de Lionne, jl luy dit que le principal sujet de son Ambassade estoit de faire en sorte de determiner entierement le Roy de Siam à se faire chrestien, sa Majesté ayant esté informée qu'il auoit beaucoup de penchant à embrasser cette Religion, et qu'a la velle d'un Ambassadeur, on ne doutoit pas qu'il ne le fist.

Cet Euesque fut surpris de ce que l'on auoit fait la conuersion du Roy de Siam si facile, et luy dit que la chose n'estoit pas si preste qu'on la croyoit, cependant que ce Roy auoit de bons sentimens pour la Religion chrestienne et qu'il en donnoit tous les jours des preunes par les Eglises qu'il faisoit bastir aux Missionnaires par l'amitié qu'il leur (1<sup>re</sup>) tesmoignoit, en leur accordant tout ce qu'ils luy demandoient et qu'il ne doutoit pas que l'Ambassade ne fist un effect admirable, mais qu'il y auoit de grandes mesures a prendre.

Ils conuinrent des moyens qu'il falloit prendre pour faire reussir cette affaire, et resolurent de s'adresser au S.<sup>r</sup> Constance grand fauory du Roy, bon catholique et homme de bien et d'honneur.

L'Euesque luy ayant dit que ce fauory n'estoit point interessé et qu'il ne cherechoit que l'honneur, l'abbé de Lionne qui estoit de la conuersation dit que c'estoit par là qu'il le falloit prendre et qu'il y auoit des honneurs en France que le Roy luy pouuoit donner, comme cheualier de s.<sup>t</sup> Michel, et mesme luy proposa le cordon bleu.

Il fit quelque resistance sur ce dernier, mais led. S.<sup>r</sup> Abbé de Lionne luy ayant fait entendre que cela pouuoit extreme(ment) auancer l'affaire, cela le fit resoudre à luy dire qu'il pouuoit luy proposer en cas qu'il obligeast le Roy de Siam d'embrasser (2<sup>re</sup>) la Religion chrestienne.

Led. S.<sup>r</sup> de Lionne le fut trouuer, et luy en fit la proposition qu'il reçut en disant qu'on luy faisoit trop d'honneur, et qu'il feroit tout son possible auprès du Roy son Maistre pour faire reussir cette affaire, et qu'il ny auoit que l'interest de la Religion qui le feroit agir.







PLATE II

Chevalier de Chaumont.

Detail from a Print at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, showing his  
reception by King P'ra Nami.

Led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance l'estant venu voir quelques jours apres à deux lieüs de Siam, jl eut vne grande conversation avec luy en presence de l'Euesque dans laquelle apres beaucoup de complimens jl luy dit que seachant sa probité et son zele pour la Religion jl auoit resolu de ne luy rien deguiser du sujet de son Ambassade, et luy expliqua en mesme temps que c'estoit pour porter le Roy de Siam à se faire chrestien.

Led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance luy dit lamesme chose que l'Euesque, qu'il ne scauoit pas qui auoit fait la chose si facile en france qu'il ne croyoit pas que cela fust si prez, et qu'il falloit prendre des mesures justes pour mettre l'affaire en bon estat.

L'Euesque luy ayant leü le compliment que luy Ch. de Chaumont (2v<sup>e</sup>) denoit faire au Roy, jl luy dit qu'il estoit vn peu pressant et qu'il falloit en retrancher quelque chose.

Comme led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance ne parle point françois, l'Euesque luy dit, mais il respondit qu'il n'en vouloit rien retrancher. L'Euesque le traduisit en Portugais et en osta quelque petite chose qu'il ne trouua pas de consequence.

Led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance ayant demandé a esté interpreté dans les audiences, l'Euesque dit qu'on ne luy pouoit pas refuser le Roy de Siam luy ayant donné le soin de toutes les affaires de l'ambassade.

Dans sa premiere audience, apres auoir fait son compliment au Roy, que led<sup>r</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance expliqua en Siamois, Le Roy luy demanda en quel estat jl auoit laissé le Roy et toute la maison Royale, et si Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> n'auoit point fait de conquestes depuis quelque temps.

Il dit que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> n'auoit fait que celle de Laxembourg et qu'Elle auoit obligé toute l'Europe à luy demander la paix qu'Elle leur auoit accordé a la teste de ses armées (3e<sup>e</sup>). Il luy parla ensuite des Ambassadeurs qu'il auoit enuoyé et qui s'estoient perdus, surquoy luy Chaumont respondit que cette perte auoit esté sensible a Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> et que sur le bruit qui auoit couru que c'estoit les hollandois qui les auoient fait perir, Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> auoit donné ordre a son Ambassadeur en hollande de faire de grandes perquisitions pour voir s'il en decouuroit quelque chose.

Il demanda si Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> s'estoit fait faire raison sur l'affaire de Bantam, et jl respondit qu'il ne doutoit pas que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> n'en eust toute la satisfaction qu'il en auoit demandée et qu'il estoit party

dans le temps qu'on parloit de cette affaire. Le Roy de Siam luy parut fort irrité contre les hollandois en se retirant.

Le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance levint trouver le soir qui luy dit que le Roy estoit fort satisfait de cette premiere audience. Il luy fit connoistre ensuite que les hollandois leur tenoient fort à cœur et qu'ils vouloient prendre quelques mesures avec Sa Majesté sur ce sujet.

(3<sup>re</sup>). Luy de Chaumont ne respondit rien la dessus que des honnestetez et led.<sup>r</sup> S.<sup>r</sup> Constance luy dit que le Roy luy donneroit audience particuliere deux jours apres.

Il y alla, et apres avoir salué le Roy et s'estre assis il luy demanda comment il se portoit et tout son monde, apres un si grand voyage. Il luy dit ensuite qu'il sca voit que les hollandois luy vouloient faire la guerre, et qu'il avoit remarqué que la grande amitié et intelligence qu'il vouloit avoir avec Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> leur donneroit de la jalousie, et qu'il ne doutoit point qu'ils ne fissent ce qu'ils pourroient pour empescher le commerce de la compagnie de France dans son Royaume.

Il luy respondit qu'il ne doutoit point que quand les hollandois scauroient cette grande amitié entre les deux Roys que cela ne les fist tenir dans le respect qu'ils devoient à Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> surquoy le Roy de Siam luy dit que les hollandois estoient adroits, qu'ils feroient toutes choses pour traverser le commerce de la comp.<sup>e</sup> qu'il falloit prendre des mesures pour les en empescher et que la comp.<sup>e</sup> jusqu'à présent avoit beaucoup negligé le commerce dans son Royaume.

(4<sup>re</sup>). Il luy dit que cela alloit prendre un autre chemin, la compagnie ayant beaucoup plus de fonds qu'elle n'avoit autresfois, et Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> estant dans la resolution de la proteger fortement.

Le Roy de Siam luy dit encore, que c'estoit dans les commencemens qu'il falloit apporter plus de precautions contre les hollandois, à quoy il respondit que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> prendroit des mesures si justes pour toutes choses que les hollandois n'oseroient rien entreprendre, et qu'ils se ressouvenoiennent des guerres qu'ils avoient eü avec le Roy, dans lesquelles ils avoient esté si bien chastiez qu'ils ny retourneroient de long-temps.

Il luy demanda s'il n'avoit rien à luy dire, et il luy respondit qu'il n'avoit esté envoyé que pour luy tesmoigner que sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> souhaitoit avec empressement qu'il voulust se faire instruire dans la Religion chrestienne.

Le Roy se retira et le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance l'estant venu trouver le lende-



main luy parla fort des hollandois et luy fit connoître (4v<sup>e</sup>) par son discours qu'il en auoit grande peur; Il luy demanda s'il auoit tout pouuoir de Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> et luy marqua adroitement.<sup>1</sup> que le Roy de Siam seroit bien aise de faire vne ligue offensine et deffensine contre les hollandois.

Luy Chaumont luy dit qu'il ne doutoit pas que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> ne fist beaucoup de choses pour le Roy de Siam, mais qu'il n'estoit pas veu pour la guerre, et qu'il n'auoit ordre que de tesmoigner au Roy l'enue que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> auoit qu'il se fist chrestien.

Luy ayant demandé ses bons offices pour cela, jl luy dit qu'il y auoit bien des mesures à prendre là dessus et que quand le Roy seroit en estat de se faire chrestien, qu'il ne scauoit pas s'il luy conseileroit de le faire, veu que cela pourroit causer une grande reuolte dans son Royaume. Le Roy ayant vn frere qui ne cherchoit que quelque occasion pour cela.

Quelques jours apres le Roy luy donna encore audience et luy demanda s'il auoit quelque chose à luy dire sur le (5r<sup>e</sup>) commerce, surquoy jl luy respondit que comme c'estoit vne chose qui demandoit vn peu de temps à s'expliquer, s'il vouloit nommer quelqu'un de ses Ministres, jl en confereroit avec eux.

Le Roy nomma le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance, et sur ce qu'il luy dit qu'il feroit vn Memoire des poinets de la Religion et du commerce jl luy dit qu'il y respondroit, et qu'il connoissoit bien que l'amitié de Sa Majesté n'estoit point interessée.

A son retour a son logis jl fit le Memoire qui suit qui ne parle presque que de Religion, et vn mot du commerce, pour faire connoistre qu'il n'auoit esté enuoyé que pour le seul sujet de la Religion.

MEMOIRE de M. le Chlier de Chaumont  
au Roy de Siam.

Il luy expose que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> Infirmée de ses grandes qualitez l'a enuoyé pour luy demander son amitié et luy offrir la sienne et pour faire entre les deux couronnes vne alliance que l'esloignement ne soit jamais capable d'alterer (5v<sup>e</sup>). Que comme les Ministres de son Royaume ont prié les Ministres de france, par les Lettres qu'ils leur ont escriites de leur suggerer les moyens de rendre cette vnion si ferme qu'elle puisse passer jusqu'aux successeurs des deux Roys, Sa Majesté à crû que le lien le plus solide estoit celuy d'vne mesme Religion,

Qu'il a esté enuoyé pour le prier de vouloir bien prendre ce moyen, et que dans cette velle Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> luy à commandé de luy offrir toutes ses forces de terre et de mer, troupes et vaiss.<sup>s</sup> et generalement tout ce qui peut conuenir à sa gloire et au bien general de son Royaume.

Que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> sera aussy disposée de son costé, s'il accepte ce party, à prendre tous les autres moyens qu'il jugera les plus propres, pour rendre eternelle l'amitié qu'ils sont prests de contracter ensemble.

Et que quoyque Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> ne luy ayt parlé que de cette seule chose, Elle luy à cependant fait recommander par ses Ministres de rendre toute sorte de bons offices a la cour de Siam, a (6r<sup>e</sup>) la compagnie de France.

Il donna ce Memoire au S.<sup>r</sup> Constance pour le presenter au Roy, et deux jours apres jl le vint trouuer vn peu embarrassé, en luy disant que ce qu'il demandoit par ce Memoire touchant la Religion, ne feroit pas l'effect qu'il croyoit, ayant eü vne grande conuersation avec le Roy sur ce sujet dans laquelle luy ayant dit qu'il luy auoit degnisé jusqu'alors le sujet qui auoit amené luy Chaumont, qui estoit celuy de la Religion, cela auoit surpris le Roy de Siam, en disant le Roy de France me veut donc faire chrestien, c'est vne grande affaire de quitter vne Religion qui est depuis tant d'annees dans nostre maison Royale, et si ce Dieu qui à crée tout le monde eust voulu, on eust esté tous d'une mesme Religion.

Ce Roy luy dit ensuite qu'il voyoit bien que ce que sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> luy proposoit n'estoit que par amitié, qu'il songeroit à cette grand affaire et qu'il feroit response au Memoire.

Luy Chaumont fut extremement surpris lors que led. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance, luy auoia que c'estoit la premiere fois qu'il auoit (6v<sup>e</sup>) parlé au Roy du sujet qui l'auoit amené, et que dans toutes les audiences ou jl auoit tousjours parlé de Religion, jl ne l'auoit pas expliqué, parce qu'il croyoit absolument que les choses n'estoient pas en estat de les faire connoître au Roy.

Luy Chaumont fut extremement mécontent de ce discours et apres luy en auoir tesmoigné sa surprise, led. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance luy remit la response du Roy de Siam, au Memoire qu'il luy luy (sic) auoit donné, et luy dit beaucoup de raisons, en voulant luy faire entendre qu'il falloit faire en sorte de conuertir des Mandarins et beaucoup de Siamois, et que c'estoit par là qu'il falloit commencer, qu'il scauoit bien que cela ne seroit pas desagreceable au Roy de Siam, et que

comme j'l aymoît fort l'Euesque, j'l ne luy refuseroit pas des pouvoirs aduantageux pour la Religion.

Il n'a pû penetrer la raison que led' S.<sup>r</sup> Constance à eû, de nauoir pas parlé de la Religion, si ce n'est que luy Chaumont auoit dautres choses à proposer au Roy, et qu'il n'auoit insisté sur ce sujet, que pour éprouuer ce Roy.

(7r<sup>o</sup>) REPONSE faite au Memoire du S.<sup>r</sup> Chlier de Chaumont.

Le Roy de Siam remercie Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> de la grande affection qu'Elle à pour luy.

Il tesmoigne du deplaisir que le moyen que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> propose pour establir à jamais cette amitié Royale qu'il desire tant, soit aussy difficile à mettre à execution comme le changement d'une Religion professée pendant deux mille deux cens vingt neuf ans, sans aucune intermission, et ainsy j'l laisse à juger si vn tel changement est facile.

Il dit sur cela que le véritable Dieu qui à crée toutes choses pouuoit bien, s'Il eust voulu, ne faire qu'une mesme Religion, mais que comme j'l à diuersifié tous les ourages de la nature, j'l à voulu faire la mesme chose dans les matieres de la Religion que neantmoins j'l s'abandonne a la Divine prouidence afin qu'Elle ordonne à son plaisir de sa personne et de tout son Royaume.

Asseure cependant Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> de la fermeté et de l'immutabilité (7v<sup>o</sup>) de son affection, et pour suppleer au moyen cy dessus qu'il ne prend pas encore, j'l assure que tant qu'il viura, rien ne sera capable d'alterer ou d'empescher la correspondance qu'il desire auoir, et qu'il fera en sorte que ses successeurs ny manqueront pas aussy. Et pour montrer a sa Majesté, l'infaillibilité de ses paroles, en cas que ses successeurs manquent à accomplir son desir, Il donne pouuoir et droit a Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> de les traiter et ses Royaumes comme ennemis et mesme de prendre possession de sa couronne.

Il dit qu'il sera toujours prest de faire vn Traité qui oblige ses successeurs de suivre ses intentions a cet égard.

Il accordera à la compagnie de France tous les aduantages qu'elle pourra raisonnablement esperer.

Cette response ayant esté remise a luy Chaumont, j'l alla huit jours apres trouuer le Roy qui estoit a Louuo, ou led' S.<sup>r</sup> Constance luy fit confidence d'une conuersation qu'il auoit eû avec le Roy sur le sujet de la Religion, dans laquelle il l'auoit trouué plus traitable qu'il nauoit



créé ce qui luy faisoit (8r<sup>o</sup>) croire qu'il y auoit à esperer, mais qu'il falloit attendre tout de Dieu, et du temps.

Il le reuint voir peu de jours apres et jl luy dit que les choses alloient fort bien, Il prit ce temps pour luy donner vn Memoire des demandes qu'il faisoit au Roy de Siam, au sujet de l'Euesque et des missionnaires, et il a esté accordé ce qui suit.

PRIUEGES accordez aux Missionnaires apostoliques par le Roy de Siam, dant toute l'estendue de son Royaume.

1<sup>o</sup>. Le Roy de siam fera publier dans toutes les villes de son Royaume que les missionnaires apostoliques peuvent prescher la Loy chrestienne dans toutes lesd<sup>s</sup>. villes et les peuples les entendre chacun suiuant son inclination sans que les Gouverneurs ou autres officiers puissent les en empescher, en quelque maniere que ce soit, à condition que lesd<sup>s</sup>. missionn.<sup>tes</sup> prescheront la Loy de Dieu, sans insinuer aucune nouveauté dans le coeur du peuple, contre le gouuernem.<sup>t</sup> et les Loix du pays (8v<sup>o</sup>) sous quelque pretexte que ce soit, et en cas que lesd<sup>s</sup>. missionn.<sup>tes</sup> le fissent le priuilege demeurera nul, et le missionn.<sup>te</sup> coupable arresté et renuoyé en france, sans que jamais jl puisse remettre le pied dans le Royaume sous peine de la vie.

2. Le Roy de Siam accorde que lesd<sup>s</sup> missionnaires apostoliques puissent enseigner les naturels de son Royaume à leur volonté, en quelque science que ce soit, et qu'ils puissent les recevoir dans leurs conuens, escoles et habitations, avec les mesmes priuileges des autres conuens de Siam sans que personne puisse les en empescher, et que lesd<sup>s</sup> missionnaires puissent leur enseigner les sciences, Loix et autres estudes qui ne sont point contraires au gouvernement, et aux Loix du Royaume.

Et en cas qu'on decouure par la voye certaine de deux tesmoins qu'ils y ayent contrenu le present priuilege demeurera nul et le M.<sup>e</sup> d'escole et le disciple seront traitez ainsi qu'il est marqué dans le premier article. Mais au cas que lesd<sup>s</sup> missionnaires se conseruent dans leur priuilege, toutes les affaires qu'ils auront seront jugeés par vn mandarin que l'Euesque presentera et que (9r<sup>o</sup>) le Roy nommera pourueu qu'il soit capable de cet employ.

3. Lesd<sup>s</sup>. Roy accorde aussy que tous ses sujets qui de leur bonne volonté se feront chrestiens jouissent du priuilege des chrestiens et soient exempts les Dimanches et jours de festes marquez par l'Eglise,

de tous les services qu'ils doivent à leurs Mandarins si ce n'est dans vne necessité pressante, Et comme il faudra juger de cette necessité pour éviter tous differens sur ce sujet, Le Roy nommera vn Mandarin de son costé, et l'Euesque du sien vne personne d'autorité, et ce qu'ils regleront ensemble sera ponctuellement executé.

4. Led<sup>e</sup>. Roy accorde pareillement que si quelques vns de ses sujets chrestiens, par vieillesse ou infirmité soit évidemment incapable de service, en se presentant à vn Mandarin que led<sup>e</sup>. Roy nommera à cet effet ils pourront estre dispensez du service jusques à leur guerison.

5. Pour éviter les injustices et les persecutions qu'on pourroit faire aux nouveaux chrestiens, Le Roy de Siam accorde (9v<sup>e</sup>) que le Mandarin dont il est parlé au second article soit Juge de tous leurs procès, et afin d'éviter toute longueur, ordonne que le Mandarin, apres s'estre instruit de l'affaire, demandera l'avis de l'un des Juges du Roy avant que de rendre vn Jugement, afin qu'on n'en puisse point appeller.

Le Roy de Siam fera publier tous ses articles, par tous ses Royaumes, afin que ses peuples connoissent que son intention est que led<sup>e</sup>. Missionnaires apostoliques jouissent des d. privileges.

#### MEMOIRE présenté au Chlier de Chaumont de la part du Roy de Siam.

Le Roy accordera toutes les choses que led<sup>e</sup>. Chlier de Chaumont est chargé de demander, persuadé qu'il ne proposent rien que le bien des deux couronnes, et qui puisse estre contre l'honneur dans lequel il s'est maintenu jusqu'à present.

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Led<sup>e</sup>. Roy à creü devoir faire sçavoir aud. Ch. de Chaumont (10r<sup>e</sup>) qu'il court vn bruit dans toutes les Indes que les hollandois sont resolu de molester ses terres. Et comme de sa part ny de celle de ses Ministres on n'a donné aucune occasion aux hollandois d'en user ainsi, led<sup>e</sup>. Roy croit que le seul motif qui les peut obliger à cela, est l'affection qu'il a tesmoigné à la nation françoise.

Comme il se veut maintenir dans l'union qu'il a avec Sa Majesté, il est embarrassé sur la maniere dont il doit se comporter au cas que les hollandois persistent dans leurs mauvaises intentions.

Il voit bien vn moyen facile de s'accommoder avec les hollandois, mais comme il sçait la haine qu'ils ont contre les françois et contre ceux qui les reçoivent chez eux, il demande aud Chlier de Chaumont

les meilleurs moyens pour pouvoir suivre l'inclination naturelle qu'il a de servir la nation françoise.

Il marque que le plus grand interest qu'il a en tout cela est l'honneur des sujets de sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> dont il souhaite l'augmentation par l'affection qu'il leur porte.

Que s'il fait fortifier ses places qui sans le secours de l'Art ont (10v<sup>e</sup>) esté jusques jey imprenables, c'est pour asseurer le passage aux françois, et non pour deffendre son païs, et si cela dure jusqu'à la fin, il les fera raser et ira au devant des hollandois, ou de ses autres ennemis tels qu'ils soient, à la teste de ses armées avec ses elephans, et toute cette grande puissance qui luy a donné la victoire sur tous ses ennemis, ainsy qu'il est arriué quand il avoit la guerre avec tous ses voisins les Roys de Pegu, de Laos, de Chaoma et de Camboge qui tous estoient à la teste de leurs troupes, et il ne doute point que la victoire ne le suive quand il fera la guerre à des marchands qui luy ont tant d'obligation.

RESPONSE dud'. Chfier de Chaumont au Memoire.

L'ESTAT florissant ou il void le Royaume de Siam, le nombre presque infini de ses peuples aguerris, et la grande quantité de forteresses qu'a led'. Roy de Siam, l'empesche de croire que les hollandois soient assez imprudens pour oser attaquer un Prince qui les feroit bientost repentir de leur temerité. (11r<sup>e</sup>) Ce qui le confirme encore dans cette pensée est que led'. Roy ny ses Ministres ne leur ont jamais donné aucun sujet legitime de plainte.

Sur ce qu'il croit que l'animosité desd'. hollandois peut venir des bons traitemens qu'il a fait à la nation françoise. Il est certain que le seul nom de sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> est capable d'empescher lesd'. hollandois de se declarer ses Ennemis, et il oserait presque asseurer qu'ils se tiendront dans les termes de la raison, quand ils sçauront l'alliance étroite qui est entre les deux couronnes, ce que luy de Chaumont leur fera sçavoir en termes aussi forts qu'il luy sera possible en sorte qu'ils ne puissent pas douter qu'attaquer le Roy de Siam c'est offenser sa Majesté.

A l'Egard de la maniere dont il se doit comporter en cas qu'il soit obligé de faire la guerre aux hollandois, s'il avoit des troupes et des vaisseaux il les offriroit, et comme il est obligé de s'en retourner, tout ce qu'il peut faire, est d'asseurer led'. Roy qu'il ne doute point



que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> en cas de guerre ne fasse tous ses efforts pour obliger ses ennemis à le laisser jouir en paix (11v<sup>o</sup>) de la gloire qu'il s'est acquise.

A l'égard de la compagnie françoise, il ny a point de doute que voyant les grands aduantages que led<sup>e</sup>. Roy veut luy faire elle ne s'establisce tout de bon dans son Royaume, et n'y fasse vn grand commerce, principalement led<sup>e</sup>. Roy luy accordant Singor.

PRIVILEGES accordez par le Roy de Siam a la Compagnie  
Françoise.

Led<sup>e</sup>. Roy accorde a lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie la permission destabliir vne facturie dans le Royaume de Siam.

Lad<sup>e</sup>. compagnie pourra commercer librement dans led<sup>e</sup>. Royaume sans payer aucuns droicts d'entree ny de sortie en souffrant la visite par les officiers des Douanes conformement aux coustumes du Royaume.

Les commis de lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie ne pourront faire passer des marchandises estrangeres sous le nom de la Compagnie, et en cas qu'ils le fassent et que cela soit prouué la comp.<sup>e</sup> perdra lesd<sup>e</sup>. priuileges (12r<sup>o</sup>) jusqu'à ce que sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> ayt jugé du cas.

Quant à la liberté du commerce, cela s'entend que lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie aura liberté d'achepter et de vendre toute sorte de marchandises pourueu qu'elles ne soient point de contrebande, lesquelles elle ne pourra achepter que des gardes magasins du Roy, ou des marchands qui les auront eues d'eux.

Lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie pourra vendre et achepter a sa volenté toutes les marchandises qui seront apportées dans le Royaume par des estrangers, ou par des naturels du pays, ou qu'elle fera venir pour son compte, et en cas que le Roy ayt besoin pour son service de quelque vnes desd<sup>e</sup>. marchandises, Il les pourra prendre par preference.

Les Commis de lad<sup>e</sup>. compagnie ne pourront achepter desd<sup>e</sup>. marchandises que pour le service de leurs Maistres, et en cas qu'ils nobseruent pas ce poinct, et qu'au contraire ils se mettent en société avec d'autres marchands lad<sup>e</sup>. comp.<sup>e</sup> perdra lesd<sup>e</sup>. priuileges jusqu'à ce que sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> tres chrestienne ayt jugé l'affaire.

Led<sup>e</sup>. Roy de Siam accorde que toutes les marchandises (12v<sup>o</sup>) que lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie chargera pour son compte sur toute sortes de

nauires estrangers soient exemptes de tous droicts d'entree et de sortie.

Les Commis de lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie ne pourront charger pour le compte d'autres que de leurs Maistres, et en cas qu'ils se servent du nom de lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie pour faire passer d'autres march.<sup>es</sup> elles seront confisquées.

Lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie pourra enuoyer des marchandises dans les lieux ou elle n'a pas accoustumé d'en faire transporter, et il luy sera permis de fretter vn ou deux vaisseaux ou tant q.<sup>lle</sup> en aura besoin, et jouira des priuileges accordez au 3.<sup>e</sup> article.

Tous les françois qui ne sont point au service du Roy de Siam ou de ses Ministres venant à commettre quelque vol contre la Compagnie ou entr'eux, ou quelqu'autre méchante action, la punition en sera remise au Capitaine françois, neantmoins en cas que quelqu'une des parties ne soit pas contente du Jugement du Cap.<sup>te</sup> françois et demande justice aux Ministres de Siam, lon surseoira le Jugement du Cap.<sup>te</sup> jusqu'à ce que sa (13r<sup>e</sup>) Ma.<sup>te</sup> en ayt ordonné. Et en cas que quelque françois commette quelque action contre quelqu'un du païs, qui merite punition le Capitaine de la compagnie pourra aller prendre place parmi les Juges du Roy de Siam, pour juger le proces conformément aux Loix du Royaume, cependant il seroit plus à propos que sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> nommast vn Juge bien autorisé pour rendre la Justice a vn chacun, sans que les officiers de la compagnie fussent obligez d'interrompre leur commerce pour y vaquer.

Le Roy de Siam accorde a lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie le commerce de l'Estain de Jonsalam et de ses dependences a l'exclusion de toute autre nation, avec permission d'y bastir vne factorie, à condition d'en presenter le modele aux Ministres de Siam, qui apres leur aprobation, sera suivy de point en point sans aucun changem.<sup>t</sup> et sera lad<sup>e</sup>. comp.<sup>e</sup> obligée de porter à Jonsalam toutes les march.<sup>es</sup> nécessaires au commerce des habitans de ce lieu et de ses dependences en sorte qu'ils ne soient point obligez de recourir à d'autres moyens pour subuenir à leurs necessitez, et si lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie n'observe pas ce point exactement lesd<sup>s</sup>. habitans pourront faire commerce avec les autres nations sans qu'ils puissent estre acensez d'aller (13v<sup>e</sup>) contre le priuilege accordé.

Lad<sup>e</sup>. Compagnie pourra establir des factories dans les lieux du Royaume de Siam qu'elle jugera propres au commerce, pourueu qu'elle

prenne l'aprobation des Ministres du Royaume et qu'elle n'en fasse point bastir sans permission.

En cas que quelque bastiment de lad'. Compagnie fist naufrage sur les costes du Royaume de Siam, le Cap.<sup>ne</sup> de lad'. compagnie pourra en retirer tout ce qui sera possible.

Le Roy de Siam accorde le Lieu de Singor a lad'. compagnie avec toutes ses dependences pour le fortifier et en vser a sa volenté neantmoins pour plusieurs raisons, il n'est pas à propos que cela soit publié jusqu'à ce que Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> en ayt esté informée et ayt fait sçauoir ses intentions.

Led'. Roy ayant prié luy de Chaumont de visiter les forteresses de Louuo, afin de voir ce qu'il y auroit à faire. Il luy en rendit raison dans l'audiance suivante.

Il luy dit ensuite de marquer vne place pour faire bastir vne Eglise pour l'Euesque, et jl n'a point eü d'audiance qu'il ne luy ayt parlé dud'. S.<sup>r</sup> Euesque en luy tesmoignant auoir vne estime (14r<sup>o</sup>) toute particuliere pour luy et pour sa pieté.

Ce Roy luy a marqué aussy de la joye de ce que les Jesuistes estoient dans vne grande vnion avec led'. Euesque.

Dans vne audiance qu'il luy donna dans les bois a la chasse. Il luy dit de dire à Sa Majesté que s'il y auoit quelque formalité dans son Royaume qui ne fust pas à l'vsage de France qu'elle n'auoit qu'a luy tesmoigner, qu'il les aboliroit.

Il le chargea aussy de prier sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> de vouloir considerer le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance, comme vne personne qui la seruoit bien, et luy dit que comme led'. S.<sup>r</sup> Constance auoit beaucoup d'enueux, qu'il seroit peut estre obligé apres sa mort de quitter le Royaume et de se retirer en France.

Il le chargea aussy d'auoir soin de ses Ambassadeurs, et dans sa derniere audiance, jl le pria de bien dire toutes choses a sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> et qu'il n'auoit rien de plus cher au monde que son amitié et qu'il luy tesmoigneroit la sienne dans toutes les occasions, et qu'il prioit sa Majesté de luy faire sçauoir les choses les plus curieuses qui seroient dans toutes les Indes et qu'il les feroit faire avec plaisir.

(14v<sup>o</sup>) Il a fait present à l'Abbé de Lionne et au Pere levacher à chacun d'un crucefix d'or en prenant congé de luy, et jl a fait de grands honneurs à luy de Chaumont, et luy a donné vn vase d'or appellé Bossette, qui est le plus grand honneur que que (sic) le Roy accorde aux plus qualifiez de son Royaume.



Luy de Chaumont se lôtie beaucoup de l'Euesque qui est l'homme du monde le plus pieux.

Il n'a rien fait dans son Ambassade qu'il ne luy ayt communiqué et aux S.<sup>rs</sup> Abbez de Choisy et de Lionne qui sont sont deux personnes d'un grand merite.

#### TRANSLATION

##### ACCOUNT OF THE CHEVALIER DE CHAUMONT'S PROCEEDINGS IN SIAM.<sup>(1)</sup>

De Chaumont, on his arrival at the Bar, sent to beg the Bishop of Metelopolis to meet him on board, with the object of informing him of the reactions in Siam to his Embassy. He told both the Bishop and the Abbé de Lionne, who accompanied the Bishop, that the chief motive of his Embassy was to prevail finally upon the King of Siam to become a Christian, since His Majesty had been informed that the former was much inclined to accept that faith, and that upon the appearance of an Ambassador there was no doubt but that he would do so.

The Bishop showed surprise that the King's conversion had been represented as such a simple matter, and explained that it was not so imminent as was supposed, although the King was well disposed towards the Christian religion, and gave constant proof of his sentiments by building churches for the missionaries, and by displaying his friendship of them in granting all their requests. He added that, although the Embassy was certain to produce an excellent effect, important steps still remained to be taken.

They agreed upon the procedure to be adopted for the successful issue of the business, and decided to approach Mr. Constant, the King's special favourite, who was a Catholic as well as a good and respected man. The Bishop having remarked that the personal interests of this Royal favourite were centered solely on the increase of his own prestige, the Abbé de Lionne, who was present, suggested approaching him along these lines, adding that honours such as a Knighthood in the order of St. Michael were at the disposal of the King of France; he even went so far as to mention the "cordon bleu." The latter suggestion evoked a certain amount of opposition from de

(1) Words in brackets have been added by the translator to elucidate the text.

Chaumont, but when Abbé de Lionne had convinced him that matters might be considerably advanced thereby, he brought himself to agree that he might make such an offer to him, supposing that he prevailed upon the King of Siam to adopt the Christian religion.

The said M. de Lionne then saw Mr. Constant and submitted the offer to him. His reception of it was to exclaim against the honour shewn him and to promise the use of all the influence he possessed with the King in order to bring the matter to a happy conclusion, protesting that religious zeal was his sole motive.

A few days later, the said Mr. Constant came to see de Chaumont at his camp two leagues below Ayut'ya and had a long conference with him at which the Bishop assisted. De Chaumont loaded him with compliments and told him he had decided, in view of Mr. Constant's known integrity and of his zeal for Christianity, to keep nothing secret from him concerning the Embassy. Thereupon de Chaumont told him that the object of the Embassy was to persuade the King of Siam to become a Christian. The said Mr. Constant, like the Bishop, showed surprise that the matter could have been represented in France as being so simple: his own idea was that it was premature, and that appropriate steps were required to prepare the way for it.

The Bishop then read out the text of the address which de Chaumont was to deliver to the king. Mr. Constant observed that it was rather too insistent, and suggested certain excisions. The Bishop communicated this to de Chaumont, since Mr. Constant does not speak French, but de Chaumont was unwilling to make any excision. When translating into Portuguese the Bishop left out minor passages which he considered unimportant. The said Mr. Constant asked that he should be<sup>(1)</sup> the interpreter at the Audiences, and the Bishop considered that it would be impossible to refuse him, since the King of Siam had entrusted him with all the business of the Embassy.

At his first audience, after de Chaumont had paid his respects to the King and they had been translated into Siamese by the said Mr. Constant, the King enquired after the health of the King of France and of all the Royal Family, asking whether he had made any recent conquests. He was informed that the only conquest was

(1) The text reads "Constance ayant demandé a este interprete"—which appears corrupt.

that of Luxemburg, the which had compelled all Europe to sue His Majesty for peace, and that His Majesty had accorded it at the head of his (victorious) armies.

The King then spoke of the Ambassadors whom he had despatched and who had perished: whereupon de Chaumont stated that His Majesty had been much affected by this loss, and that hearing a rumour to the effect that the Dutch had been responsible for it, he had instructed his Ambassador to Holland to make searching enquiries in the hope of bringing something to light.

The King asked whether His Majesty had received satisfaction for the Bantam business. de Chaumont replied that he was certain His Majesty had obtained all the redress demanded, and that he sailed at a time when the matter was still under discussion.

On withdrawing, the King seemed to him to be much irritated against the Dutch. That evening Mr. Constant called upon de Chaumont and reported that the King was delighted with their first audience. He then disclosed the concern which they (the Siamese) felt about the Dutch and their desire to take certain concerted steps with His Majesty about the matter. de Chaumont on his part confined himself to polite expressions on the subject, and received Mr. Constant's promise of a private interview with the King in two days time.

At the interview, de Chaumont took his seat after offering salutations. The King, having asked about his health and about that of his suite after so long a voyage, proceeded to declare his certainty that the Dutch meditated an attack on him; saying he had observed that his desire for close and friendly relations with His Majesty would cause them jealousy, and he was confident that they would do what they could to obstruct the trade of the French Company in his dominions. de Chaumont replied that he had no doubt the knowledge of the close ties existing between the Kings of France and Siam would keep them faithful to the respect which they owed to His Majesty. To which the King replied that the Dutch were cunning; that they would do their best to thwart the Company's trade and that steps must be taken to prevent them. He added that up to now the Company had treated trade in his realm with much neglect. de Chaumont assured him that this would occur no longer now that the Company was in possession of more capital than in the



past, and knew of His Majesty's intention to afford it every protection.

The King of Siam said further that it is at the start that special precautions must be brought to bear: to which de Chaumont replied that His Majesty would take such exact steps as to prevent the Dutch from hazarding any undertaking, since the punishment they had received in their wars against him would still be fresh in their memory.

The King then asked de Chaumont whether he had anything to say to him. The latter replied that the sole object of his mission was to declare His Majesty's earnest desire that the King should consent to take instruction in the Christian religion.

The King withdrew. Next day Mr. Constant called on de Chaumont and spoke at length to him on the subject of the Dutch, by which he gave evidence of his great apprehension of them. He asked whether de Chaumont was in possession of full powers from His Majesty, and suggested adroitly that the King of Siam would welcome an offensive and defensive pact against the Dutch. de Chaumont in turn said that although he was certain His Majesty would do much for the King of Siam, the object however of his visit was not to prepare a war, but to declare to the King His Majesty's desire that he should become a Christian. Mr. Constant, whose assistance in the matter was solicited, said that there was much to be done in that matter, and that even if the King was ready to embrace Christianity, it was doubtful whether he himself would advise him to do so, in view of the great uprising which might be occasioned thereby in the country, since the King had a brother who was only waiting for some pretext to provoke it.

Some days later the King granted de Chaumont another interview at which he asked whether he had any suggestions to make concerning trade; to which de Chaumont replied that it was a matter which required a certain time to discuss it; should the King be pleased to appoint one of his Ministers, he would confer with him. The King appointed Mr. Constant. de Chaumont having then offered to submit a memorandum on the points of religion and trade, the King promised a reply, and expressed at the same time his firm conviction of the disinterested nature of His Majesty's friendship.

de Chaumont, on returning to his quarters, drew up the following

memorandum, devoted almost exclusively to the religious issue, with only a brief reference to trade. His object was to prove that the religious issue was the sole motive of his mission.

*Chevalier de Chaumont's Memorandum to the King of Siam.*

He is commissioned by His Majesty, who had heard of the King's great qualities, to crave the King's friendship and to offer him his own in return, with the object of forming an alliance between the two kingdoms to remain for ever unaffected by the distance separating them.

Since the Siamese Ministers in their letters to the Ministers of France have asked for suggestions as to the manner by which this alliance could be so strongly cemented as to be handed down to the successors of these monarchs, His Majesty records his conviction that the strongest cement is the bond of a faith held by both in common.

The motive of de Chaumont's mission is to beg the King to accept this bond. With it in view His Majesty has commissioned him to place at the disposal of the King of Siam his land and sea forces, his armies and ships, and everything which can minister to the King's renown and to his country's weal. If the King agrees, His Majesty on his side will be ready to take all other steps which the King deems requisite for making the friendship unending into which both sides are disposed to enter. This is the sole matter entrusted to him by His Majesty: His Majesty urged him, however, through the (King's) Minister to use all his influence with the Siamese Court in favour of the Company of France.

This Memorandum was handed to Mr. Constant for presentation to the King. Two days later Mr. Constant called on him (de Chaumont) appearing to be somewhat embarrassed, and stated that the effect of the references in the Memorandum to religion would be other than that expected, since he had had a long talk on the subject with the King, in which he had told the King that until then he had disguised the motive of de Chaumont's Embassy, which was the question of the Christian religion. This had greatly surprised the King, who had exclaimed:

"The desire of the King of France is then to make a Christian  
"of me. It is no light matter to abandon a religion which has  
"been held by our Royal Family for centuries. Furthermore,

"if the Creator had so willed it, all nations would have had the same religion,"

adding, that as it was obvious that His Majesty's proposal had been inspired by feelings of friendship, he would give the matter his attention, and would reply to the Memorandum.

de Chaumont was amazed at Mr. Constant's admission that he had only then for the first time revealed the motive of the Embassy to the King, and had never interpreted any of de Chaumont's many references to religion in any of the audiences owing to a conviction that the matter was not sufficiently mature to be broached to the King. This statement caused great annoyance to de Chaumont. Mr. Constant showed his surprise thereat, and proceeded to hand him the King of Siam's answer to his Memorandum, and produced many arguments by which he hoped to convince him that the line to be adopted was to convert some of the officials and many of the people, to begin with, a matter which he knew would meet with no disapproval from the King of Siam, who, because of his affection for the Bishop, would not fail to grant the latter powers which would be beneficial for the Faith.

de Chaumont failed to understand the reason why the said Mr. Constant should not have spoken about the Christian religion unless it was that he, de Chaumont, had other proposals to make to the King, and that his motive for insisting at all on the subject (of religion) was simply to test the King's attitude towards it.

#### Reply given to de Chaumont's Memorandum.

The King of Siam thanks His Majesty for the great friendliness he has shown towards him, and regrets that the method chosen by His Majesty for perpetuating the mutual friendship of their countries in accordance with his own ardent desire should be so difficult to apply, to wit, the change of a Religion, which has been practised without a break for 2229 years; and he calls the world to witness whether such a change would be easy.

Furthermore, the King submits that the true God, the creator of all things, had he wished it, could have created but a single Religion. Yet he showed his preference for diversity in matters of religion, as in all the works of nature. Nevertheless, the King places himself in the hands of the divine Providence to dispose of his person and kingdom as seems best to It.



Meanwhile, the King assures His Majesty of the firm and unchanging nature of his friendship; and in place of the method above-mentioned, which he cannot yet adopt, he declares that nothing can change or impede during his life-time the relations so much desired; also, that he will take steps to ensure that his successors observe them after his death. As proof of the sincerity of his professions, the King empowers His Majesty to treat his successors and their dominions as his enemies if they neglect to carry out his wishes, and even to take possession of his throne.

The King states his readiness at any time to sign a treaty under which his successors will be obliged to carry out his wishes in this matter.

The King will grant the French Company all the facilities which it can in reason expect.

Eight days after this reply had been communicated to him, de Chaumont waited upon the King who was at Louvo.<sup>(1)</sup> Mr. Constant there confided to him the substance of a talk he had had with the King on the subject of religion, in which he had found the King more reasonable than he had expected: this led him to believe that there were grounds for hope, but that they must be prepared in all matters to wait upon God's own good time. Mr. Constant came back to see de Chaumont a few days later, and reported that all was going famously. He chose that occasion to hand to de Chaumont a memorandum of the requests he was submitting to the King on the subject of the Bishop and Missionaries. The following is what has been granted.

Privileges granted to the Apostolic Missionaries by the King of Siam throughout the length and breadth of his realm.

1. The King of Siam will have a proclamation posted in every city of his realm authorising both the Apostolic Missionaries to preach the Christian religion therein, also the people to use their own discretion in giving ear to them, with complete freedom from any possible interference from Governors or other officials, provided that the said Missionaries, in preaching the Divine Faith, shall not under any pretext whatsoever instill into the heart of the people any new notions directed against the Government and Laws of the land. In

(1) *i.e.* Lophari.

the event of such action by the Missionaries, the privilege will lapse, and the Missionary responsible will be arrested and sent back to France and forbidden to set foot again in the Kingdom under pain of death.

2. The King of Siam permits the Apostolic Missionaries to instruct any of his natural-born subjects in any of the sciences, and to receive them into any of their monasteries, schools, and dwellings with similar privileges to those enjoyed in the other monasteries of Siam and without constraint from anyone. The said Missionaries are allowed to teach science, law, and any other subjects that are compatible with the Government and Laws of the realm. Should a violation of this privilege be proved by two undisputed witnesses to have occurred, the privilege will lapse, and the schoolmaster and his pupil will be subjected to the penalties prescribed in the first article. Provided however that the said Missionaries do not exceed the terms of their privilege, all the cases to which they are parties shall be tried by an Official whom the Bishop shall nominate, and the King will appoint, provided he is competent to perform these duties.

3. The said King also grants to any of his subjects who adopt Christianity of their own free will that they shall enjoy the privileges conceded to the Christians, and be exempt on Sundays and Feasts of the Church, except in an emergency, from all obligations to their official headmen<sup>(1)</sup>, and since there must be a Court with jurisdiction to decide upon the plea of emergency, in order to avoid all disputes on the subject an official shall be nominated by the King, and a responsible person by the Bishop, and their joint decisions shall be carried out to the full.

4. The said King likewise grants that any of his Christian subjects who are indisputably incapacitated for public service by age or infirmity shall be permitted to obtain exemption from such service until healed by making application to an Official appointed for this purpose by the King.

5. To protect Christian converts from any injustice or persecution to which they might be liable, the King of Siam allows that the Official mentioned in the second article shall be judge in all their litigation. Furthermore, in order to avoid delay, he decrees that the

(1) The French "*leurs Mandarins*" denotes what was called by La Loubère "*chefs de bande*."

Official after studying the case shall apply for an opinion to one of the King's judges before giving judgment, to the end that there be no appeal against it.

The King of Siam will have these articles proclaimed throughout his realm in order that his people may know that it is his will that the Apostolic Missionaries enjoy the privileges set forth above.

Memorandum submitted to Chevalier de Chaumont on behalf of the  
King of Siam.

The King will grant all that the said Chevalier de Chaumont is instructed to ask for, being assured that none of his proposals will conflict with the interests of either Crown or with his own actual honour.

The said King feels it incumbent upon him to apprise the said Chevalier de Chaumont of the fact that a rumour is current all over the Indies that the Dutch have made up their minds to attack his dominions, and since no cause for such action has been given them either by him or his Ministers, the said King believes that the only motive which can drive them thereto is the attachment he has shown to the French nation.

Since it is his intention to abide by the amity which he has with His Majesty he is at a loss how he should act in the event of the Dutch persisting in their evil designs.

He is aware, 'tis true, of an easy method of settling with the Dutch: but as he knows the hatred they bear to the French and to those who entertain them, he enquires of the said Chevalier de Chaumont by what means he can best follow his natural propensity of serving the French nation. He points out that his greatest interest in all this affair is for the honour of His Majesty's subjects whose aggrandisement he desires by reason of the affection he bears them.

If he fortifies his strongholds, which until now have been impregnable without the aid of defenses, it is for the purpose of assuring freedom of movement to the French, and not for that of protecting his country. And if the worst comes, he will level them to the ground, and go out to meet the Dutch, or any other of his enemies whosoever they may be, at the head of his armies, with his Elephants, and with all that great Might which has given him



victory over his foes, as happened when he was at war with the Kings of Pegu, of the Laos, of Choma,<sup>(1)</sup> and of Cambodia, all of which were at the head of their troops, and he has no doubt but that victory will follow him when he makes war upon (a nation of) merchants, who are so deeply indebted to him.

Chevalier de Chaumont's reply to the King's Memorandum.

In view of the flourishing condition of Siam, which all can see, of the well-nigh unlimited number of its inhabitants trained for war, and of the many strongholds possessed by the King of Siam, de Chaumont cannot credit the Dutch with such temerity as to attack a Monarch who would quickly make them rue their rashness; and what confirms him still more in this view is that neither the said King nor his Ministers have ever given them genuine cause of complaint.

Concerning the King's belief that the favours shown by him to the French nation may be the ground of the ill will felt by the Dutch, de Chaumont is convinced that the mere mention of His Majesty's name is enough to deter the Dutch from declaring themselves his enemies, and he would go so far as to wager that the news of the intimate alliance which exists between the two Crowns will keep them within the bounds of reason,—which news de Chaumont himself will impart to them in the strongest terms so as to leave them no room for doubt that an attack upon the King of Siam is tantamount to a challenge to His Majesty of France.

Regarding the procedure to be followed in the event of war being forced upon Siam by the Dutch, if de Chaumont had men and ships at his disposal he would offer them; but since he is obliged to return home, all that he can do is to assure the King of his conviction that His Majesty, in the event of war, would use every effort to compel the King's enemies to leave him to enjoy in peace the fruits of the renown he has won.

As to the French Company, there is no doubt, in view of the facilities the said King is prepared to grant it, that it will make an establishment in Siam for good and all, and that it will trade extensively therein, especially now that Singer has been granted to it by the King.

<sup>(1)</sup> i. e. Chiengmai (?)

Privileges granted by the King of Siam to the French Company.

1. The said-King grants the said-Company permission to establish a Factory in the Kingdom of Siam. The said Company will have free right to trade in the said Kingdom with exemption from all duties either on imports or exports, subject however to inspection by Customs officials in accordance with the usage of the country.

2. The Company's Agents will be forbidden to ship foreign goods under the Company's name. Should they be proved to have done so, the Company will be deprived of these privileges pending judgment of the case by His Majesty (of France).

3. Freedom of Trade means that the Company will enjoy freedom to buy and sell all manner of goods provided they are not "contraband."<sup>(1)</sup>

4. The Company will enjoy the right to buy and sell at will any goods imported by foreigners or by natives of the country, or imported by the Company for its own account, provided that the King has preemptive rights over any of the said goods he may need for his service.

5. The Agents of the Company may purchase any of the said goods, but only for the service of their master. If they fail to observe their stipulation and enter into association with other traders, the Company will forfeit the right to the concessions above-mentioned pending the judgement of His Most Christian Majesty upon the case.

6. The King of Siam will accord complete exemption from import and export duties to all goods which the Company carries in all sorts of foreign bottoms for its own account.

7. The Agents of the Company may not have goods for the account of others than their master; and should they use the name of the Company for the purpose of shipping other goods, these will be confiscated.

8. The Company is authorised to introduce goods into places in which it is not usually accustomed to do so, and to hire as many ships—from one or two vessels upwards—as it may need; and it shall enjoy the privileges extended under article 3.

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(1) *i. e.* Goods in which the state reserved to itself the sole right to trade and which, when traded without permission, became contraband.

9. If any Frenchman outside the service of either the Siamese King or his ministers should happen to commit some theft or other mischievous action against the Company or against his fellow countrymen, the punishment thereof should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Captain of the French. Should either party disagree with the French Captain's verdict and appeal to the Siamese Minister for justice, the decision of the French Captain shall be held in suspense pending orders from His Majesty; and should some Frenchman commit some action deserving of punishment against any native of the country, the Captain of the (French) Company has the right to sit on the bench among the King's Magistrates to adjudicate in accordance with the laws of the realm. It would however be preferable if His Majesty would appoint a judge to dispense justice due to each and every one, so that the Company's servant be spared the necessity of suspending their trade to attend thereto.

10. The King of Siam grants to the Company the sole right to the tin trade in Junkeeylon and its dependencies, excluding all other nations, and permits the construction of a Factory subject to the submission of plans thereof to the Minister for his approval, the which shall be followed in every particular without alteration. Furthermore, the Company will be under obligation to ship to Junkeeylon such goods as are needed by the inhabitants thereof for their trade, so as to save them from having recourse to other means for supplying their needs. The latter, failing strict compliance with this requirement on the part of the Company, will be authorised to trade with other nations without liability to complaint concerning infringement of the Company's privilege.

11. The Company will have the right to open Factories in such places as it shall deem favourable for trade within the Kingdom of Siam, provided it obtains the approval of the Siamese Ministers, and that it will have no building erected without sanction.

12. The Captain of any of the Company's ships wrecked upon the Siamese coast will have the right to salvage all that he can.

13. The King of Siam grants the place of Singor with all its dependencies to the Company, with the right to fortify it and to make such use of it as it is desired. Nevertheless it is inexpedient for various reasons that this concession be made public before His Majesty shall have been informed, and shall have made known his pleasure.



The said King (of Siam), having requested de Chaumont to inspect the defences of Louvo and to see what shall be done thereto, de Chaumont made his report at the next audience. He then told him to fix a site for building a church for the Bishop. There was not an Audience at which the King did not mention to him the said Lord Bishop in terms of great regard both for his person and for his piety; he also expressed to him his delight that a close union existed between the Jesuits and the said Bishop.

The King granted de Chaumont an Audience at a hunting party in the woods during which he told him to inform His Majesty of the fact that the latter had only to advise the King of any Siamese custom which conflicts with French etiquette in order to obtain its abolition. He also commissioned de Chaumont to recommend Mr. Constant to His Majesty as a faithful servant, adding that since Mr. Constant had incurred the envy of many, he might be obliged to leave Siam and retire to France on the King's death.

The king also commended his envoys for France to de Chaumont's care, begging him at the final Audience to tell His Majesty everything, and that his friendship for him was his most prized possession in the world, and that he would omit no opportunity of showing his own friendly feelings, and that he begged His Majesty to name the most curious objects to be found in all the Indies and he would then gladly send them to him.

Both Abbé de Lionne and Father Vachet, on taking their leave, were presented with a golden crucifix; de Chaumont himself was the recipient of great honours including a vessel of gold called "Rosette"<sup>(1)</sup> which is the highest distinction the King grants to the most deserving in his land.

de Chaumont is very pleased with the Bishop, than whom no more holy man exists in the world: nothing which occurred during the Embassy has been kept secret from him or from the Abbés de Choisy and de Lionne, both men of high merit.

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(1) i.e. 'Pant'ong'.

## IV

(35r<sup>o</sup>) Observations pour servir a l'Instruction des Envoyez<sup>(1)</sup>  
du Roy vers le Roy de Siam touchant le Commerce.

Marine Des l'annee 1682. Le Roy de Siam par l'entremise de M.  
Siam Constance offrit au S<sup>r</sup> Des Landes Chef du Comptoir de  
1687 la Comp<sup>ie</sup> lequel s'estoit acquis une particuliere confiance  
aupres de luy et du S<sup>r</sup> Constance de s'entremettre pour  
faire bâtir une forteresse a Jort dou les Hollandois avoient  
este chasses, et luy ouvrir pour cet effet diuers moyens  
dans lesquels il n'osa entrer quoy qu'il connust l'importance  
de cet Etablissement, de quoy ayant donne avis au S<sup>r</sup> Baron  
lors directeur general dans les Indes Et la Compagnie en  
ayant esté informée des 1684, elle n'y a eu aucune at-  
tention.

Le Roy de Siam avoit aussi lors offert aud<sup>t</sup> Deslandes de  
faire charger dans ses vaisseaux en quelqu'endroit qu'ils  
allassent toutes les marchandises qu'il voudroit, et de faire  
revenir le poudren en cuire, sans payer ny fret ny droits.

Il y avoit en aussi vn projet pour faire aller a droiture  
de France en Janvier vn Navire avec une cargaison de  
300,000<sup>ll</sup> moitié en draps, et l'autre moitié en comptant que le  
Roy prendroit les draps a 20 et 25 (35v<sup>o</sup>) pour cent de profit  
sur la facture et l'argent au prix courant, pour estre rechargé  
a Siam en Septembre de Salpestre et le restant en Cuire  
et Estain, afin de revenir a la fin de decembre a la coste de  
Coromandel y charger des toilles, et demeurer leste de sal-  
pestre et repartir de la coste au commencement de feurier.

Les Siamois soupçonnoient des lors que les Hollandois  
avoient desseins de s'emparer de Bankoe, et ils communi-  
querent leurs soupçons au d<sup>t</sup> Deslandes.

Et comme les Hollandois avoient demande dans le mesme  
temps avec empressement Jonsalam pour y faire le com-  
merce a l'exclusion des autres Nations le dit Deslandes  
l'empescha et on luy donna esperance dy établir la  
Compagnie.

Il fit ensuite vn traite pour le poiure par lequel il fut

(1) M.<sup>rs</sup> de La Loubère et Ceberet.

accordé que la dix.<sup>e</sup> partie ou la 5.<sup>e</sup> si elle ne suffisoit pas pour la consommation du Royaume seroit pour le Roy de Siam Et que le restant seroit livré a la Comp.<sup>ie</sup> sur le pied de 3.<sup>1</sup> la livre et deffiances aux Etrangers ou autres personnes d'en enlever hors du Royaume.

Le Roy de Siam voyant qu'il s'estoit passé (36r<sup>o</sup>) deux ans sans que la Compagnie se fust mis en Etat de faire aucun commerce envoya le d' Deslandes a la fin de 1684 a Suratte pour auertir dudit Traitté, et pour prendre des mesures sur les differentes propositions qui auoient esté faites.

De sorte que quand M. De Chaumont est arrivé a Siam Led' S.<sup>r</sup> Deslandes, qui paroît vn des plus habiles sujets que la compagnie ayt aux Indes, ny estoit pas, et il ny est point revenu, Et les affaires ont esté a la disposition dvn Nomme Veret jouailler de Paris sans experience ny ouverture pour les affaires de la qualité de celles dont il estoit question.

De sorte que le d' S.<sup>r</sup> De Chaumont lequel sur les diverses sollicitations qui luy ont esté faites de viue voix et par Ecrit de prendre des mesures pour la seureté du commerce de la comp.<sup>ie</sup> ayant toujours respondu qu'il n'estoit venu que pour la conuersion du Roy il n'a point esté ayde comme il l'auroit pû estre dvn homme d'experience et il a fait un traitte dont les conditions sont tres captieuses.

Outre quil adit qu'on auoit offert Bankoe il paroît par tout ce qui est rapporté dans le memoire quil a fourny a son retour en france des choses qui se sont (36v<sup>o</sup>) passées, que le Roy de Siam estoit dans vn tres grand ambaras al Egard des Hollandais, En sort que ce Prince se remettoit pour cet effet a la discretion du d' S.<sup>r</sup> De Chaumont. Ce sont les termes dont le Roy de Siam sest seruy dans le memorial remis au d' S.<sup>r</sup> de Chaumont a Louvo par M. Constance apres y auoir esnoncé les soupçons contre les Hollandais et demandé comment Sa Ma.<sup>te</sup> Siamoise auroit a en user en cas de Guerre, et marquant precisement quil n'auoit besoin de ses places fortifiées que pour assurer le passage aux francois, Et qu'autrement il les feroit raser pour aller au demant des Hollandais.

Cependant le d. S.<sup>r</sup> de Chaumont ne laissa pas de faire vn traitte aud' Louvo le 11. decembre avec le S.<sup>r</sup> Constance et depuis vn autre pour le poire.

Ce traitte comprend quelques dispo(siti)ons p(rincipa)les



1<sup>o</sup> Sur la demande d'un Commerce libre et de l'exemption des droits.

On accorde l'exemption des droits, et la liberté d'acheter de toutes sortes de marchandises pourveu qu'elles ne soient point de contrebande, et a la charge de ne les pouvoir acheter que des garde magazins (37r<sup>o</sup>) du Roy Et al'Egard de celles qui seroient apportées par les Etrangers Et que la Compagnie aura fait venir pour son compte que la Comp.<sup>ie</sup> les pourra acheter et vendre a sa volonté. Et Neantmoins que si le Roy a besoin pour son service de quelque(s) vnes des dites marchandises il les pourra prendre avec toute preference.

Il est aussy porte qu'en cas d'abus par les commis de la Compagnie, elle perdra ses privileges, jusques a ce que le Roy tres chrestien ayt jugé l'affaire.

Par la disposition de cet article Le Roy de Siam ne donne rien ala Compagnie laquelle demeure a la discretion des officiers du Roy de Siam pour prendre les marchandises de france a vil prix, et celles du Royaume et des Etrangers ansy cher qu'ils voudront. Les missionnaires sont demeurés d'accord et ont donné auis que la compagnie ne pouvoit faire vn bon commerce sous ces conditions particulièrement par ce que quelque bonne volonté qu'ayt le Roy de Siam, de quoy on ne peut douter, on seroit toujours molesté par ses officiers.

Cest pourquoy estant a presumer que le Roy de Siam se trouuera dans la disposition d'accorder toutes sortes de conditions (37v<sup>o</sup>) raisonnables et auantageuses, On estime que les envoyés doivent faire Instance pour auoir avec l'exemption des droits desja accordez, la liberté entière de vendre les marchandises quelle fera apporter, sauf a conuenir avec le Roy de Siam de luy vendre en qualité et quantité celles dont on enuiendra avec Sa Majesté Siamoise aux prix et conditions dont on demeurera d'accord comm'aussy de pouvoir acheter les marchandise(s) du Royaume de Siam et celles qui y seront apportées de dehors librement.

Si neantmoins on ne pouoit obtenir cette liberté entière en tout il seroit Necessaire d'iusister pour auoir celle d'acheter les marchandises du Royaume et du dehors sans estre forcé de passer par les mains des officiers du Roy.

Et en tout cas les d'envoyez seroient) chargés de conuenir au moins du prix auquel le Roy de Siam prendroit les marchandises de france et de la coste, ce qu'on estime qui se deuroit regler a 20 et 25. pour

cent de profit sur la facture pour les marchandises de France selon les qualités que le Roy donneroit en échange des marchandises du Japon De la Chine et des autres Estats des Indes a 8 et 10 pour cent de profit du prix coûtant sur les lieux a proportion de la distance (38<sup>r</sup>) des lieux pour en faire vne avec les 20 et 25. pour cent sur les marchandises de France, et de ce qui sera stipulé pour les marchandises de Suratte, de Coromandel et de Bengalle que la Compagnie fera apporter a 10 pour %.

A legard des marchandises du crû du Royaume de Siam on estime que les enuoyez ne se doivent pas departir de la liberté de les acheter des particuliers au prix courant.

Comme il paroît que les Hollandois ont la liberté de faire commerce de quel(ques) unes des marchandises de contrebande comme Nids doyseaux, Aquila calamba et calin et autres, il est necessaire dobttenir le mesme privilege pour la Compagnie.

Et a legard de la priuation des privileges en cas d'abus par les commis de la Compagnie, comme elle feroit perdre toutes les mesures pour la continuation du commerce s'il falloit attendre de France le Jugement du Roy, cette disposition doit estre changée en la peine de la confiscation des marchandises pour lesquelles Les commis de la Compagnie pouront avoir presté leur nom.

Le Roy de Siam accorde par le (38<sup>v</sup>) troisieme article la liberté de charger pour son compte toute sorte de marchandises exemptes de droits d'entre et sortie sur les Navires Etrangers.

Par cet article il est sous entendu que nonobstant l'article precedent la comp pourra reserver les marchandises pour les enuoyer librement hors du Royaume de Siam, Neantmoins il est necessaire de l'exprimer.

Il est accordé par le 4.<sup>e</sup> article de pouvoir enuoyer des marchandises et de fretter vn ou deux vaisseaux avec les mesmes exemptions au 3.<sup>e</sup> article).

IL EST NECESSAIRE QUE LES ENVOYÉS STIPULENT LES MESMES EXPRESSIONS QU'EN L'ARTICLE PRECEDENT.

Le Roy de Siam propose par le 5.<sup>e</sup> article de faire nommer vn Juge par le Roy pour les contestations qui pourroie(nt) arriuer entre les francois et pour prendre place entre les Juges du Royaume pour les contestations entre les francois et les Siamois et Etrangers.

Le commerce de l'estain de Jonsalam est accordé a la Compagnie a

l'exclusion des autres Nations a condition de porter (39r<sup>o</sup>) aux habitants du d(ît) Jonsalam et depend(an)ces les marchandises necessaires a leur commerce a peine de priuation du privilege.

Il a esté remarqué depuis peu par la carte et les differens memoires que Jonsalam est a la coste du Nort de Malaca et nest pas eloigné de Merguy et de Tenacerim mesmes que de Singor il y a vne riuiero que remonte fort prest du d(ît) Jonsalam de sorte qu'on pourroit Juger que sil y auoit vn port au d(ît) Jonsalam avec les mesmes commoditez qua Merguy, il seroit tres auantageux a la compaignie non seulem(ent) pour la retraitte des vaisseaux qui yroient de la coste et pendant lhiver, mais mesme pour faire le commerce des marchandises du sud sans estre obligé de passer par le detroit de la Sonde, et par celuy de Malaca<sup>(1)</sup> surtout pour charger les poiures dont on dit que la plus grande quantité sera recueillie dans les dependances de Ligor qui nest qu'a 20. lieues de Singor.

Comme le Choix de Jonsalam ou de Merguy depend de la verité pour les plus grandes commoditez du commerce et la sureté des v(aisse)aux si les Enuoyés ne peuvent auoir vne conaissance certaine de la commodité et auantage de l'un des lieux qu'ils doiuent demander pour faire vn Etablissement libre et solide a (39v<sup>o</sup>) la coste du Nort, ils doiuent enuoyer a leur arrivée a Siam des personnes seures et d'experience aux d(its) lieux de Singor, Ligor, Jonsalam et Merguy affin de se determiner pour obtenir le plus conuenable avec le Gouvernement d vn des d(its) lieux.

Les d(its) Enuoyez doiuent examiner en quoy consiste l'oblige(tion) de fournir des March(andi)ses aux habitants de Jonsalam ou dvn au(tre) lieu qui sera accordé, affin que cette clause ne puisse rendre illusoires les auantages quon se promettra de cettétablissement.

Par le 9.<sup>e</sup> et dernier article du traité de M. de Chaumont Le Roy de Siam accorde a Sa Ma(jes)té le lieu de Singor et ses dependances pour se fortifier et en vser a sa volonté, avec la reserve de tenir la chose secrette jusqu'y(ace) que Sa Ma(jes)té ayt fait scauoir sa resolution.

Tout ce qui a esté recueilly des memoires de M. de Choisy, de ce qu'a escrit M. de Meteleopolis, et de ce qui a esté rapporté par

(1) The words "et... Malaca" were added in the margin by a different hand.



quelques particuliers qui sont revenus de Siam, faict connoistre.<sup>(1)</sup>

1<sup>o</sup> Que la situation de Singor est tres avantageuse pour estre fortifié avec peu de depence, qu'on peut demeurer a la Baie pendant huit mois en toute sùreté, et qu'on peut se retirer pendant les Vents de Nort Est a (40<sup>re</sup>) Ligor qui n'est qu'a 20. lieues et ou ils pretendent qu'il y a vn bon port.

2<sup>o</sup> Qu'on pourroit y attirer tonttes les Nations de la Chine, du Japon, Bornéo, Tunquin, les Mores etc. et faire de la le commerce librement dans les mesmes pays avec deux ou 3. vaisseaux a la Chine et au Japon et aut(res) lieux, et avec plus de facilite que de Siam.

3<sup>o</sup> Que du d(ît) Singor on pourroit par la riviere faire le commerce avec les places de la coste dans la province de Queda ou est Jonsalam, et y faire porter le poivre et aut(res) marchandises sans estre obligé de passer par le detroit de la Sonde ny de Malaque.

Mais comme Singor est absolument detruit et qu'estant fort éloigné de Siam, il paroît qu'il convient mieux d'avoir vne place faite, et plus proche.

Les Envoyez sans se departir de la place de Bankoe<sup>(2)</sup> qui a este promise, doivent examiner les avantages que lon peut tirer pour le commerce soit par l'Etablissem(ent) dvn Reduit ou dvn comptoir seulement aud(ît) Singor, Ensem(ble), le prejudice que pourroit Recevoir la Compagnie faite dy avoir vn Etablissement sur tout pour la facilité de la reception du poivre, et pour la commodité de l'envoy, lesd(its) Envoyez s'assureront par le traité (40<sup>ve</sup>) qui sera fait de la concession dud(ît) lieu de Singor, ou de l'obligati(ôn) du Roy de Siam de ne le pouvoir donner à aucune Nation Etrangere sous quelque pretexte que ce soit en cas quil convienne de demander vn Etablissement aut(re) que ledit Singor a la coste du Sud et de Malaque.

Il n'en paroît point d'aut(re) que Ligor de sorte que sil y a en effet vn port comme on l'assure, et que la plus grande partie des poivres se doive recueillir aux environs dud(ît) Ligor, et que d'ailleurs il soit aussi ou plus commode d'en faire le transport a la coste du Nort. Les Envoyez doivent demander Ligor et faire les dernieres

<sup>(1)</sup> The words "faict connoistre" are an addition by another hand.

<sup>(2)</sup> The word "Bankoe" has been written on by a second hand in a space left blank for it.

Inst(ances) pour l'obtenir avec le privilège du calin quont les Hollandois a l'exclusion g(énérale).

Cependant si le Roy de Siam en accordant Bankoe<sup>(1)</sup> faisoit difficulté de donner Ligor et qu'après avoir fait toutes les Instances possibles pour obtenir aussi le d(it) Ligor il ne vouloit par le donner au Roy pour en disposer a Sa Volonté et qu'il voulust aussi laisser aux Hollandois le commerce du Calin, il paroît nécessaire dy établir un comptoir pour la reception du poiure et d'obtenir tous les privilèges et exemptions Nécessaires.

De sorte que les dits Envoyez doivent demander (41r<sup>o</sup>) et obtenir Bankoe et la place la plus avantageuse et la plus commode de la coste de Malaque au Nort Soit Merguy ou Jonsalam ou aut(re) sil y en a quils puissent estre assurez devoir estre plus convenables.

Et al'Egard de Singor et Ligor les dits Envoyez examineront les convenances et les Nécessitez du commerce pour demander un établissement<sup>(2)</sup> en l'une ou en l'autre place ou en toutes deux et ce qui sera le plus avantageux, ou au moins ce qui sera indispensablement neces(sa)ire pour pouvoir exécuter le traité du poiure avec benefice.

Le prix convenu pour le poiure estant sur le pied qu'il se vend a la coste des Malayes et paroissant avantageux Il reste a examiner les autres conditions en ce qui regarde la reception, les frais du transport et la quantité que le Roy de Siam se vouldra reserver Et c'est sur ces considér(ati)ons que les d(its) envoyez semblent devoir plus particulièrement insister p(our) les Etablisse(m)ents a Singor et a Ligor.

Mais comme par le traité qui avoit esté fait avec le S(ieu)r Deslandes dans lequel il reste encoir plusieurs aut(res) équivoques, il y avoit des conditions plus avantageuses que dans le traité qui a esté fait par M. de Chaumont Il est nécessaire que (41v<sup>o</sup>) les Envoyez stipulent nettement celles qui sont accordees en supprimant les expressions captieuses et en y suppleant par d'autres qui puissent rendre la condition de la Compagnie certaine. C'EST A SCAVOIR.

Que tout le poiure sera vendu a la Compagnie au prix convenu sans quil puisse estre augmenté sous quelque prétexte que ce soit,

(1) The word "Bankoe" in this place and in the following paragraph has been written in a space left blank for it by the same second hand as above.

(2) The words "un établissement" have been added in the margin by the same second hand as above.

et que le Roy de Siam ses officie)rs ny sujets n'en pourront vendre a personne soit Siamois ou Etrangers qu'apres que la Compagnie sen sera fourny dans les endroits plus convenables a son commerce preferablem(en)t aux autres.

Pourra neantmoins le Roy de Siam retenir sur le poiure qui se sera receuilly ou apporté de dehors, la dixieme ou la 5<sup>e</sup> partie au plus pour la consommation de son Etat En cas que Sa Ma(jes)té en ayt besoin, et s'il ne s'en estoit pas receuilly vne assez grande quantité pour fournir a la Compagnie ce quelle en auroit besoin.

En cas qu'il y eust plus de poiure que la Comp(agn)ie n'en voudroit prendre, le Roy de Siam ou ses officie)rs pourr(ont) disposer du surplus comme ils auiseront bon estre apres neantmoins que la Comp(agn)ie aura (42<sup>r</sup>) pris a l'exclusion de tous autres, ce qu'elle voudra auoir.

Quoy que par les traittez il soit porté que la Compagnie declarera deux ans a l'auance la quantité de poiure a laquelle elle se voudra reduire, sil s'en recueille plus quelle n'en pourroit prendre, et qu'ainsy elle ne semble pas assujettie a prendre tout ce qui s'en recueillera au dela de ce dont elle aura besoin. Neantmoins co(mme) les enuoyez peuu(ent) tomber dans l'obligation de declarer et stipuler vne quantité, on estime quelle peut s'obliger a en prendre 5 a 600 000 : liures par an et dauantage si elle veut, sauf a diminuer la quantité en auertissant a l'auance afin que les officie)rs du Roy de Siam puissent seauoir ce qu'ils auront a liurer ou a garder.

Il sera necessaire que les Enuoyez examinent les depences pour la reception l'Enuoy et chargem(ent) affin de se faire accorder les conditions et priuileges tant pour les droits que pour les voitures En sorte que ce commerce puisse estre profita(ble) a la Compagnie.

L'Amende ordonnée contre ceux qui se trouueront auoir acheté du poiure au prejudice (42<sup>v</sup>) du traité de la Compagnie ayant este réglée au profit du Roy seulement, il y a lieu de demander que la moitié sera au profit de la Comp(agn)ie.

Les vaisseaux que le Roy enuoye partants en feurier on peut faire estat qu'ils arriveront a Siam en Aoust ou Sept(em)bre.

De sorte que Sa Ma(jes)té voulant les faire passer au retour a la coste de Coromandel il faudroit qu'ils partissent a la fin doctobre pour estre a lad' coste a la fin de xbre affin d'y demeurer pour le plus tard jus(que)au commencement de feurier.



Et dautant que la nauiga(tion) des vaisseaux pourroit estre retardée par des accidents et que la negociation de Siam ne pourroit pas auoir esté terminée pour pouuoir faire partir toute l'Escadre assez tost il semble quen ce cas mesme a toutes fins on pourroit ordonner que deux des v(aisse)aux seulement pouroi(ent) estre detachez pour aller a lad(ite) coste aussi tost apres la decharge des marchandises, des presents et des hommes. Soit pour faire renenir les autres vaisseaux a droiture en france en cas qu'ils n'eusse(nt) pas du temps pour aller a la Coste de Coromandel, ou (43<sup>re</sup>) pour aller trouver les p(remi)ers sil y auoit du temps.

Si Monseigneur prend la resolution de faire partir a l'auance de Siam deux vaisseaux, les deux Enuoyez ou l'un deux pourront apres auoir acheuè leurs negociations jusques en decem(bre) aller par terre a Tenacerim ou ils trouueront encore Le Navire de la Comp(agn)ie qui y doit hiuerner pour rejoindre les deux vaisseaux et faire a la coste ce qui conuiendroit pour le seruice, et terminer avec les off(icie)rs du Roy de Goleonda vn traitté sur les hostilitez qui auroi(ent) esté com-mencées par led(it) nauire de la Comp(agn)ie.

Il paroît necessaire qu'outre l'ordre de la comp(agn)ie au S(ieu)r Deslandes qui est apresent a Pondichery de s'en aller a Siam par Tenacerim de luy enuoyer vn autre ordre du Roy pour le mesme effet led(it) Deslandes connoissant parfaitem(ent) le pays, et ayant este honoré de la confiance intime du Roy et du S(ieu)r Constance.

Monseigneur<sup>(1)</sup> est supplié de se souuenir qu'on luy a remonstré qu'on pourroit laisser vn nauire du Roy pend(an)t vne mousson entiere a la coste pour y terminer les affaires le Goleonda sy elles nestoient pas finies auant le P(remi)er fev(ri)er.

(1) This last paragraph was written by a different hand which resembles that indicated in the notes on page 233.

## TRANSLATION

Observations on Trade for the instruction of the King's  
Envoys<sup>(1)</sup> to the King of Siam.

Marine Siam 1687. As long ago as 1682 the King of Siam made an offer through Mr. Constant to M. Deslandes, Head of the Company's Agency, who had won the complete confidence both of the King and of Constant. The offer was that he would use his influence to obtain the building of a fortress at Jore<sup>(2)</sup> from which place the Dutch had been expelled; also to that effect he put certain facilities at the disposal of Deslandes. The latter however dared not engage himself therein, though well aware of the value of (such) an establishment. Baron, the then Director General in India was informed by him of the matter: the Company (in France) was also informed as early as 1684, but took no steps.

At the same time, the King of Siam also proposed to Deslandes to load his ships bound for any ports outside Siam with whatever goods he desired, and to bring back a cargo of copper in return free of freight and duties.

He also had a plan for loading a ship on an unbroken voyage to leave France in January with a cargo worth 300,000 livres, half in cloth and half in cash, which he would take over, the cloth at 20% to 25% above the invoice price, and the silver at current rates. In September the ship was to be reloaded at Ayut'ia with saltpetre, the remaining space being filled with copper and tin. The idea was that this ship would be due with this cargo on the Coromandel coast at the end of December, and there load up with cotton goods, retaining the saltpetre as ballast, and set sail again at the beginning of February.

The Siamese at that time suspected the Dutch of a design to seize Bangkok, and they confided their suspicions

(1) MM. de La Loubère and Cèberet (in the margin).

(2) Kœppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1908, p. 189, states that Deslandes wrote to Baron on December 26th, 1682, (Arch. des Colonies, C I. 22, ff 45-49).

to the said Deslandes; and as the Dutch had been pressing for a monopoly of the trade of Junkeeylon, Deslandes prevented it and was encouraged in the hope of establishing the Company at that place.

He then made a treaty for pepper by which it was allowed that if one tenth (of the pepper available) should not suffice for the needs of the Kingdom, one fifth was to be reserved for the King of Siam, and the remainder was to be sold to the Company at the rate of three livres a pound, while foreigners and all others were forbidden to take any out of the Kingdom.

Seeing that at the expiry of two years the Company was still not in a position to do any trade, the King of Siam sent Deslandes at the end of 1684 to Surat to carry news of the treaty, and to give effect to the sundry proposals that had been made. It thus happened that when M. de Chaumont reached Siam, M. Deslandes, who appears to be one of the Company's ablest agents in the East, was absent. He never returned, and the business was left in the hands of a jeweller of Paris named Vêret, who lacked the experience and ability needed to engage in business of the kind which was then in hand.

The result was that de Chaumont, when approached from different quarters both in person and by letter, (and urged) to take steps to safeguard the Company's trade, invariably replied that the conversion of the King was the sole object of his mission,—having no one of experience behind him, as he might well have had; and he made a treaty containing some very capacious clauses.

In addition to what he said, it appears from all the statements contained in the Memoir which M. de Chaumont submitted on his return to France concerning the occurrences (in Siam) that the King of Siam was much worried concerning the Dutch, and so put himself in the Chaumont's hands in this matter,—as witness the terms used by him in the Memorandum which he said Mr. Constant presented to the said M. de Chaumont at Louvo. He there gave vent to his suspicion of the Dutch, asking how he should proceed against them in time of war, making it quite clear that he had no need of those strongholds except for shielding the movements of the French, and that but for that reason he would have them levelled to the ground, and himself go out into the open to meet the Dutch.

Be that as it may, M. de Chaumont certainly did sign a treaty with Mr. Constant on the 11th of December, and another one later on



concerning pepper. There are certain main clauses in this treaty.

1° Concerning the request for freedom of trade and exemption from duties.—Exemption from duties is granted together with permission to buy all sorts of goods provided they are not contraband and that they are purchased solely from the King's storekeeper. Regarding goods introduced by foreigners or by the Company for its own account, the Company has the right to buy and sell them at will, with the proviso that if the king requires any of the said goods for his own use he shall have absolute right of preemption over them. It is also provided that in the event of any abuse thereof by its agents, the Company will forfeit its privileges pending a ruling on the matter by the Most Christian King.

By the terms of this article the King of Siam concedes nothing to the Company, for it is still subject to the good pleasure of the King's officials, who are entitled to take goods from France at a low price, and (sell) local and foreign goods at any price at all that they may choose. According to the admission of the Missionaries, and the information they have supplied, the Company will never trade successfully under these conditions, especially since it will always be at the mercy of the King's officials, no matter how well disposed he himself may be, as indeed he undoubtedly is.

For this reason, since it may be anticipated that the King of Siam will be disposed to grant any terms that are reasonable and advantageous, it is felt that the Envoys, in addition to the exemption from duties already granted, should insist upon complete freedom to offer for sale goods imported by them, with the sole proviso that such goods and such amounts are sold as shall be agreed upon with His Siamese Majesty at rates and on terms to be fixed by agreement: they should also insist upon the right to buy without restriction both Siamese goods and those imported from abroad. If however it is not possible to obtain this complete liberty, it will be necessary to insist upon freedom to buy the goods of the country, also foreign goods, without their passing through the hands of the King's officials.

In any case, it should be incumbent upon the said Envoys to obtain an agreement at least upon the price at which the King of Siam will accept goods from France and from the Coast,<sup>(1)</sup> and it is

(1) *I. e.* the Coromandel Coast of India.

estimated that this should be fixed at a rate 20% to 25% higher than the Invoice value in the case of goods from France according to their quality; also that the King should give in exchange goods from Japan, China, and the other states in the Indies, allowing himself 8% to 10% profit on the purchase price at those places, in proportion to the distances involved, and in such manner that there shall be also a proportion to the 20% to 25% charged on goods from France; and furthermore, an agreement upon what shall be stipulated for the goods from Surat, Coromandel, and Bengal which the Company will bring into Siam.

Regarding the native goods produced by Siam, it is held that the Envoys must not give way as regards freedom to buy them from private individuals at the current price.

Since it appears that the Dutch are at liberty to trade in certain contraband articles such as Birdsnests, Eaglewood, Calamba,<sup>(1)</sup> Calin,<sup>(2)</sup> and others, it is imperative to obtain the same privileges for the Company.

As to forfeiture of rights in the event of their abuse by the Company's agents, since this would involve the loss of all means to carry on trade pending arrival from France of the King's ruling, this penalty should be changed to confiscation of the goods which the Company's Agent may have traded under cover of its name.

According to the third article, the King of Siam grants freedom for the Company to load in foreign bottoms on its own account all manner of goods free of import and export duties. This clause implies that, notwithstanding the previous article, the Company is authorised to set aside goods for free export from Siam; this however should be stated in so many words.

According to the fourth article, a similar right is conceded to despatch goods<sup>(3)</sup> and to freight one or two ships with the same exemptions (as in the 3rd Article). The Envoys must insist upon the same wording as in that article.

In the fifth<sup>(4)</sup> article, the King of Siam suggests that a Judge be

(1) Calambac.

(2) Calin, a mixture of lead and tin.

(3) Imported goods- v. de Chaumont's account.

(4) i. e. article (9) in de Chaumont's account.

appointed by the King to deal with disputes among the French, and to sit on the bench side by side with the Siamese Judges in disputes between Frenchmen and Siamese or foreigners.

The monopoly in tin at Junkceylon is granted to the French subject to a proviso that the Company supplies the inhabitants of Junkceylon and neighbourhood with the goods they require for their trade, under penalty of forfeiture of the privilege.

It has recently been noticed on referring to the map as well as to the reports of sundry persons that Junkceylon is situated on the coast north of Malacca, and that it is not very far from Merguy and Tenacerim; also that as at Singor there is a river which rises quite close to Junkceylon, it may be inferred that, if Junkceylon is furnished with a harbour with facilities similar to those of Merguy, it would be most useful to the Company not only in affording refuge to its ships (in distress) and in the winter, but also even for trade in goods from the south which would not have to pass through the Straits of Sunda and those of Malacca, and especially for loading pepper, of which the largest supply, so it is said, will be found in the dependencies of Ligor which lies but twenty leagues from Singor.

Since the choice between Junkceylon and Merguy depends upon an exact estimation as to which of the two affords the best facilities for trade and protection of shipping, if the Envoys are unable to obtain reliable knowledge concerning the convenience and advantages of the one or of the other of the (two) places which they are to ask for as a site for a free and permanent settlement on the north coast, they must, on their arrival in Siam, send tried and experienced persons to Singor, Ligor, Junkceylon and Merguy in order to reach a decision with the local authorities, so that they may obtain the most suitable of the aforesaid sites.

The Envoys must enquire into the purport of the undertaking to supply goods to the inhabitants of Junkceylon or of the place conceded in its stead, so that this clause may not render nugatory the benefit to be hoped from a settlement there.

According to the ninth<sup>(1)</sup> and last article in M. de Chaumont's treaty, the King of Siam grants Singor and its dependencies to His Majesty for Him to erect fortifications there and use as He desires:

<sup>(1)</sup> Article (13) in de Chaumont's account.



but it specifies that the matter be kept secret pending His Majesty's decision.

All that has been gathered from the memoirs of M. de Choisy, from what the Lord Bishop of Metellopolis has written, and from reports by private individuals who have returned from Siam, shows:—

1) That the position of Singor is most suited to receive fortifications at a small cost; that ships can remain in the roads in perfect safety for eight months, while during the north-east winds they can retire to Ligor which is claimed to have a good harbour only twenty leagues distant.

2) That it would be possible to draw thereto all the traders of China, Japan, Borneo and Tongking, also the Moors, and to trade in freedom from those same ports to China and Japan by means of two or three ships with greater ease than from (the city of) Siam.

3) That from Singor, by means of the river, it would be possible to maintain trade with the coastal stations in the province of Kedah in which Junkeeylon lies, and to have pepper and other goods carried to those places without having to pass through the Straits of Sunda and Malacca.

Without giving way regarding the citadel of Bangkok which has been promised, the Envoys shall consider what benefits would result for trade from the establishment either of a place of refuge or simply of a commercial factory at the aforesaid Singor; then as well, what prejudice the absence of any such establishment might involve for the Company, particularly in the matter of convenience for collection and shipment of pepper.

In the treaty which will be concluded, the Envoys are to make sure of obtaining the concession of Singor, or else an undertaking from the King of Siam to refrain from granting it to any other foreign nation under any colour whatsoever, in case it appears expedient to ask for some settlement, other than Singor aforementioned, on the south coast or on the coast of Malacca.

The only other one appears to be Ligor. If therefore a harbour really exists there,—as we are given to believe,—at which the major portion of the pepper crop from the vicinity of Ligor would be collected; if furthermore Ligor proves to be equally or more convenient for the despatch of that crop to the north coast, the Envoys should apply for Ligor, and insist in every possible way in order to

obtain it together with the monopoly of the calin trade which the Dutch enjoy to the exclusion of all others.

If however, while granting Bangkok, the King of Siam puts forward objections to giving Ligor, and if in spite of all possible insistence he refuses to give the King the full use of it, and if further he desires to leave the calin trade to the Dutch, it looks as if we should have to open a trading post there for the collection of pepper, obtaining from him all the privileges and exemptions required.

It follows that the Envoys are to ask for and obtain Bangkok and the most profitable and convenient establishment on the coast north of Malacca, whether Merguy, or Junkceylon, or some other, if any exists which they can be certain will be more suitable; and regarding Singor or Ligor, the Envoys are to study the conditions and requirements of trade with a view to asking for an establishment in one or the other or in both of them.

Since the price agreed upon for pepper is the price at which it sells on the Malay coast and appears remunerative, it remains to study the conditions obtaining in other matters, that is with regard to selection, cost of carriage and the amount which the King of Siam will require to be reserved for him: these are details on which the Envoys should lay more especial stress when considering a settlement at Singor or Ligor.

Since however M. Deslandes' treaty, in which there remains a number of other equivocal clauses, contained some better terms than those in the treaty concluded by M. de Chaumont, the Envoys must insist on a clear statement of the terms to be granted, deleting the capitious clauses and substituting others capable of ensuring a definite status for the Company, to wit:—

That all the pepper shall be sold to the Company at the price agreed upon, which under no circumstances whatever shall be capable of increase: that neither the King of Siam nor his officials nor his subjects shall ever sell any of it to either natives or foreigners until the Company has been supplied with it in the places most adapted for its trade in preference to any others.

It shall however be permissible for the King of Siam to reserve for the consumption of his dominions the tenth or the fifth part of the pepper collected or brought in from abroad, should His Majesty have need thereof, even though the quantity collected is insufficient

to provide the supply required by the Company. In the event of there being more pepper than the Company would take, the King of Siam or his officials will be at liberty to dispose of the surplus as they think proper, provided that the Company has first refusal of all it needs to the exclusion of all others.

Although the treaties require the Company to give notice two years ahead regarding the limit of its requirements in pepper, in case more be collected than it needs, and although the Company does not thus appear bound to take the whole crop in excess of its requirements, nevertheless since the Envoys may find themselves called upon to fix a given limit in advance, it is reckoned that a limit of 500,000 to 600,000 livres may be accepted by the Company, or even more, if it so wishes, with the option to reduce the amount after due notice has been given beforehand in order to enable the King's officials to know what amount they will have to supply and what to retain.

The Envoys must study the costs of selection, carriage and shipping, in order to obtain favourable terms in the matter of duties and conveyance, so that the trade may be remunerative to the Company.

The fine levied on those who shall happen to have bought pepper in contravention of the Company's treaty has been assigned in full to the King. Application should be made for the Company to take one half thereof.

Since the vessels which the King sends out sail in February, it can be reckoned that they will reach the city of Siam in August or September. If therefore His Majesty desires that on their way home they should call in at the Coromandel coast, they should set forth at the end of October so as to reach that coast at the end of December, in order not to be detained there after the beginning of February.

Inasmuch as the voyage may be delayed by accidents, also the negotiations in Siam may not be finished in time to have the whole squadron under weigh at a sufficiently early date, so as to meet all contingencies, orders might any way be given that just two ships be detailed to proceed to that coast as soon as they have discharged the goods, the presents and the men. The rest of the squadron could either return to France direct, if it has no time to put in at the Coromandel coast, or if it has time, it could join up with the first ships there.



If His Lordship<sup>(1)</sup> should decide to direct that two ships leave Siam ahead of the others, both Envoys, or one of them, after completing the negotiations not later than December, could travel overland to Tenacerim, where he would still find the Company's ship which winters at that place, and so overtake the two ships on the coast. They would there attend to the King's service, and conclude a treaty with the King of Golconda's officials, putting an end to the state of war which was declared by the said Company's ship.

In addition to the order of the Company to M. Deslandes, who is at present at Pondichery, enjoining him to repair to (the city of) Siam via Tenacerim, it seems necessary to despatch to him another order to the same effect from the king (of France) since he has a perfect knowledge of the country, and has been honoured with the close confidence of the King and of Mr. Constant.

His Lordship is implored to recall the representations made to him to the effect that one of the King's ships could be left for a whole monsoon on the Coromandel coast to complete the Golconda business, should it not have been concluded before the 8th of February.

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(1) i.e. Marquis de Seignelay for whose benefit these observations appear to have been drawn up by the Directors of the Company to form the basis of his Instructions to the Envoys. The last two paragraphs have been added by the second hand which wrote in "Bankoc" twice in the original.

## ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1933

The Council of the Siam Society has pleasure in submitting its report for 1933.

The year has been a memorable one in the history of the Society from the fact that for some ten months of that period the members have been in possession of their new home. The removal from the temporary premises at the Chulalongkorn University was completed in February. It is a peculiar satisfaction to the Council that the Society owns, entirely free of debt, a building designed for its special needs and the land on which the building stands. The title deed for the property is in the name of the Society, the deed being deposited with the Society's bankers; the Society is registered in accordance with Siamese law, and its building and library and servants' quarters have been adequately insured.

When the building was completed, Their Majesties were graciously pleased to announce their intention of visiting the new home of the Society on February 28th for the purpose of declaring the same open for use. To the great regret of all, indisposition prevented His Majesty from leaving Hua Hin, and it was not until the early days of 1934 that the King and Queen were able to pay their long projected visit.

The building was, however, declared open by a Royal Rescript in a letter from the Office of His Majesty's Personal Secretary, dated 10th March 2475 (1933) and sent to the President. His Majesty's gracious message, together with the good wishes of Her Majesty the Queen in this notable communication, was printed in the Journal of the Society, Vol. XXVI, part 2, issued in October 1933, together with photographs of the interior and exterior of the building, taken by Mr. E. Groote, as a gift to the Society.

Two marble tablets, in Siamese and English, recording the event have been affixed to the right and left walls of the proscenium.

The total cost of the building, with all accessories, was approximately Tes. 31,000 which was only Tes. 170 more than the total income of the Building Fund from all sources, of which Tes. 24,832 were derived from the donations of members and others.

That it has been possible to carry the work through to completion without incurring indebtedness affords much satisfaction to the Council. The accounts and a full list of subscribers to the Building Fund have been prepared and will be published in the Journal as soon as possible.

#### ANNUAL MEETING.

At the annual meeting held on February 28th 1933, the President being in the chair, the Annual Report for 1932 and the Balance Sheet for the year were unanimously adopted. The Council were likewise re-elected *en bloc*. Monsieur Parmentier was elected an honorary member; and Mr. C. J. Aagaard and Mr. R. S. le May, a former Vice-President, were elected corresponding members. On behalf of the members, the President thanked Mr. A. E. Nana, who had presented the site on which their home stood; Dr. George McFarland, who had allowed us the use of the land by which alone access to the site was possible; and Mr. E. Healey, who had drawn the plans and supervised the construction of the building. A vote of thanks to the Hon. Auditor (Mr. G. R. Brooks) for his services concluded the proceedings.

#### THE COUNCIL.

The Council has met regularly throughout the year under review, the number of meetings being fourteen and the average attendance nine. At the March meeting Mr. W. H. Mundie, M. A., an original member of the Society, who has held various offices, in addition to serving on the Council since the foundation of the Society, was unanimously elected one of the Vice-Presidents. At this meeting also Mr. U. L. Guehler was elected to the Council to fill the vacancy caused by the departure of Dr. Asmis, the German Minister.

The death of Mr. E. J. Godfrey, in June, removed one of the foundation members of the Natural History Society of Siam, since amalgamated with the Siam Society. Mr. Godfrey served on the Council for some years, and his abiding interest in the field of entomology contributed very greatly to the knowledge now possessed of the



butterfly fauna of Siam. A complete collection of his butterflies was presented by him to the British Museum, and the Siamese Government since his decease has purchased his collections remaining in Siam.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

In the course of the year sixteen ordinary members were elected as compared with fifteen in 1932, fifteen in 1931, thirty-eight in 1930 and thirty-eight in 1929.

Two ordinary members died (Mr. Godfrey and Mr. F. G. de Jesus) and Prof. Craib (corresponding member), and there were fourteen resignations of ordinary members, and four were removed for non-payment of subscriptions. On the 1st of January, 1934, the membership was as follows:

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Free	Ordinary
21	11	3	4	156

making a total of 195 as compared with 200 in 1932, 218 in 1931, 244 in 1930 and 258 in 1929. The elections to ordinary membership remain practically at the same level as for 1932, but the continued departure of so many members of the foreign colony is responsible for nearly half the total resignations of 1933.

#### REPRINTING OF JOURNALS.

The reprinting of the Journal was completed during the year with Vol. XXII, part 2. Complete sets of the Journal, Vols I to XXVI, and copies of any part issued can now be supplied.

#### THE JOURNAL.

Two parts of Vol. XXVI, each of over one hundred pages, were issued during the year, Part 1 with many illustrations in April, and Part 2, also well illustrated, in October 1933.

On return from leave, Mr. J. Burnay resumed his duties as Editor of the Journal, taking over from Prof. René Nicolas.

#### NATURAL HISTORY SUPPLEMENT.

The Natural History Supplement was published in two large parts in the year, Vol. IX, No. I, issued in June, and Vol. IX, No. II, issued in December. Vol. VIII was completed by the publication of the Index in November.

Following the death of Mr. E. J. Godfrey, Editor of the Supplement, Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith became Editor.

#### FLORAE SIAMENSIS ENUMERATIO.

The final pages of Volume II, part 2, of this work were in hand at the end of 1933. It had been hoped to publish this part before the year ended, but the difficulty of having to send proofs to England for revision is responsible for the delay.

Professor W. G. Craib died in September, but Dr. Kerr has informed the Council that the work the Professor had in hand for the Enumeration is practically completed. Dr. Kerr believes it will be possible to provide material for a small part of the Enumeration each year.

#### INDEX OF VOLUMES I TO XXV.

The preparation of this Index was completed during the year and the records handed over to the Council by the compiler, Mrs. H. S. O'Neill. A Committee has been appointed, with Mr. Burnay as editor, to prepare the Index for printing but had not met at the time this report was drawn up.

#### DICTIONARY COMMITTEE.

It was agreed at the August meeting of the Council to dissolve the Dictionary Committee, formed in July 1927, and to store its effects in the Society's Library. The filing cabinet, card index and minute book of the Committee are now in the Library.

#### SIAMESE MUSEUMS.

Monsieur Parmentier's monograph on the collections in the National Museum in Bangkok and in the provincial museums of Siam is in process of being translated from French to English free of cost to the Society. The translation has been in progress since the middle of 1932, and it is hoped to issue the same as a number of the Journal.

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

The report of the Committee appointed by H. H. the Minister of Public Instruction to draft a uniform system for transcription from Siamese into Roman characters, as well as the letter received from the Ministry in this connection, has been published in Vol. XXVI, part 2, in accordance with the Council's decision.

At the August meeting of the Council it was agreed that the Society accept the principle that the transcription to be used in the Journal be made uniform.

It was agreed to notify the Ministry of Public Instruction that H. S. H. Prince Varnvaidyakara and Monsieur J. Burnay, members of the Council, had been appointed to confer with the officials of the Ministry on behalf of the Society in furthering this work.

#### PRESERVATION OF WILD ANIMALS.

This question has been mentioned from time to time during the Council meetings of 1933. The Council has also received the three volume report of the Wild Life Commission of Malaya—a gift from Mr. Theodore Hubback of Kuala Lipis.

Members of Council have on several occasions sought information as to the progress of the proposed law on the Preservation of Wild Animals in Siam, and in reply to an enquiry from the Council in October, the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs wrote to the Council that H. E. the State Councillor in Charge had directed him to inform the Council that the draft of the law submitted by the Society may have to be reconsidered.

#### KING VAJIRAVUDH MEMORIAL.

The Council, desiring to associate the Society with the memorial to be erected in the grounds of the Vajiravudh College to the memory of King Vajiravudh, the former Patron of the Society, voted a sum of Tes. 100 from the Society's Reserve to the fund being raised to give effect to this proposal.

#### CARETAKER AND GARDENER.

The Hon. Librarian (Mr. W. R. S. Ladell) and Phya Srishtikar Ban-chong have been appointed a committee to supervise the upkeep of the building and the laying out of the grounds. Dr. Morden Carthew has kindly provided a plan of the garden in the Society's compound, and, as far as possible, the committee are giving effect to his design.

#### THE LIBRARY.

The additional accommodation available in the new building has been of advantage to the ever growing Library of the Society. Additional cases have been provided during the year, and this section



of the Society's activities, thanks to the careful revision and inspection of the Society's exchange list, is assuming valuable proportions as a reference section for those interested in the cultural aims for which the Society was established.

The Council sanctioned (in August), after discussion at an earlier meeting, the purchase of a number of books from the library of the late Mr. E. J. Godfrey.

#### PORTRAITURE.

Efforts were made during the year to secure portraits of past Presidents and of others prominently associated with the early history of the Society. The Council has been fortunate in securing a portrait of a founder of the Society, Herr G. Coates, a former German Minister Resident at the Court of Siam, and has every hope of being able to add portraits of others connected with the Society whose portraits it is deemed should fittingly adorn the walls of the Society's home.

#### LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES INDOCHINOISES.

Monsieur Parmentier represented the Siam Society at the fiftieth anniversary of the above Société and read an address on behalf of the Siam Society, of which he had recently been elected an Honorary Member.

#### MEETINGS.

The number of meetings held during the year was more than usual—three General Meetings, two of the Agricultural, Travel and Transport Section, two of the Natural History Section, and the foundation meeting and an observation meeting of the Astronomical Section.

At a General Meeting of members, at which the President took the chair, held on March 6th, Dr. H. Quaritch Wales read a paper entitled "An Introduction to Siamese Painting."

On March 9th Mr. H. S. Kennedy addressed the members of the Agriculture, Travel and Transport Section on a journey in the French Protectorate of Laos.

On May 24th a new section called the Astronomical Section was founded with Mr. H. Brändli as Leader and Phya Srishtikar Banchong as Honorary Secretary.

On June 28th H. H. Prince Dhani read his paper on the inscriptions at Wat Phra Jetubon before a General Meeting. The paper was illustrated with lantern slides. Major Seidenfaden, senior Vice-President, presided in the absence of the President through illness.

On July 28th Mr. U. L. Guehler, also before a General Meeting with the President in the Chair, described a journey made by him together with Prof. W. Credner from Chiangmai to Mandalay, illustrated with many interesting slides.

The Natural History Section arranged a meeting for August 10th, but owing to the heavy rain interfering with the attendance, the regular programme was abandoned, and only the exhibits were presented.

On August 22nd at a meeting of the Agriculture, Travel and Transport Section, Mr. C. W. Ward gave a lecture on his journey through Indochina and Yunnanfu, illustrated with lantern slides.

On December 19th the Natural History Section's meeting, planned for August and further postponed from October, took place. This being the first full meeting of the Section since the death of Mr. E. J. Godfrey, the members stood while adopting resolutions of regret at his decease and in appreciation of his scientific work. Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith discussed the feather-back fishes of Siam, and Mr. House gave an account of a tour in Nan province, illustrated with lantern slides. Among the exhibits many living and preserved specimens of the wild life of the country, notable among them being a so-called squirrel-bear (*mi krarak*) and a goat-antelope (*lieng pa*).

On December 20th the first observation meeting of the Astronomical Section was held in the compound of the Society when, by means of a three-and-a-half-inch telescope, a number of members availed themselves of the opportunity to view some of the heavenly bodies.

#### EXCURSIONS.

The Agriculture, Travel and Transport Section has found it impossible to arrange any excursions for the year under review.

At the December meeting of the Council, the Leader of the Section, H. R. H. the Prince of Kambaeng Bejra, tendered his resignation as Leader of the Section, as well as his seat on the Council.

At the unanimous wish of the Council the Prince agreed to retain his position of an Honorary Vice-President and his seat on the Council. Phya Srishtikar Banchong agreed to become Leader of the Section, and Luang Thavil has become Honorary Secretary of this Section.

#### FINANCES

The Society had to meet heavy expenditure in 1933 with a diminishing income and for the first time for many years there is a deficit in the working account which will be adjusted from the Society's reserves when fixed deposits mature.

For the last two years the Society's income has been steadily diminishing owing to the resignation of many members and it is feared that unless conditions improve there will be a curtailment in essential activities.



## ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1934

The year 1934 was the first complete year that the Society has been in possession of its new home.

When the building was completed, the King was graciously pleased to announce his intention of visiting the new home but to the great regret of all, indisposition prevented His Majesty from leaving Hua Hin, and it was not until January 8th, 1934, that the King and Queen were able to pay their promised visit and inspect the building, this being only four days prior to their departure for Europe.

The members of the Council attended to receive Their Majesties. Unfortunately Phya Indra Montri (Mr. F. H. Giles) was unable to be present on account of illness, and the duty of receiving the King and Queen fell to the senior Vice-President (Major E. Seidenfaden), who was accompanied by H. H. Prince Dhani, a Vice-President, and the following members of the Council: H. H. Prince Bidyalankarana, Phya Srishtikarn Banchong, Rev. Father Chorin, Messrs. J. Burnay, R. Lingat, H. McCormick Smith, W. R. S. Ladell, C. J. House, U. L. Guehler, H. Brändli and R. Adey Moore. There were also present: Mr. E. Healey (the Hon. Architect), Dr. and Mrs. McFarland (who gave land for the approach road to the site) and Mr. A. E. Nana (who gave the site on which the building stands).

Their Majesties on entering the building listened to the address which had been prepared by the President. His Majesty asked a number of questions about the Society, and the neighbourhood in which it has settled, remarking on the development which had gone on in the adjacent paddy fields since last he had ridden that way.

After tea the Society begged His Majesty to hand to the Rector of the Chulalongkorn University bound volumes of all the Society's publications in recognition of the hospitality the Society had received at the hands of the University over several years in placing rooms

at its disposal entirely free of any charge. The gift comprised the *Journal of the Siam Society*, the *Natural History Journal and Supplement*, Halliday's *Moa Dictionary*, le May's *Coinage of Siam*, and Craib's *Flora Siamensis Enumeratio*.

In the Library were staged for their Majesties' inspection an aquarium intended to show the native fishes of Siam suitable for local aquaria. Some of the fishes had never before been exhibited in aquaria, and included were *pla kathing* and *pla itan*.

Her Majesty was pleased to accept a drawing of a fish which enjoys the unique distinction of being named after herself. It was known as (Queen) Rambai's Goby (*Vaimosa Rambaiæ*). This was handed to the Queen by Dr. McCormick Smith, the Leader of the Natural History Section.

Mr. W. R. S. Ladell, Honorary Librarian, showed various entomological exhibits of economic interest including a case containing a whole plant of *Pin Keo* paddy, together with a sheaf of ears, and mounted specimens of the grain. This was the paddy which was developed on the Klong Rangsit Experimental Farm from a grain selected by the rice millers as being what they required, and which gained the first prize at the World Grain Exhibition held at Regina, Canada, in July 1933.

The Archaeological section of the Royal Institute had prepared a series of drawings, in regard to Wat Sri Sarapet at Ayudhya. It was in the grounds of this temple that in March 1933 a remarkable collection of Buddhas, relics and *Phra Phim* on sheets of gold and silver, were discovered in a chamber in the middle pagoda of three in the ruins.

H. H. Prince Bidyalankarana, President of the Royal Institute, explained the sketches and plans prepared by the Archaeological service with a view to making a special study of the knowledge of the age of the different buildings of this temple, which date back to B. E. 2035. Mr. E. Forno assisted the Prince with this exhibit, which possessed a great interest, and gave a glimpse of the imposing buildings which once formed part of this temple.

#### ANNUAL MEETING.

At the annual meeting held on February 14th, 1934, the President being in the chair, the Annual Report for 1933 and the Balance Sheet for the year were unanimously adopted. The Council were

likewise re-elected *en bloc*. Phya Jolamark Bhicharana was asked to accept a seat on the Council, and the President acknowledging re-election paid a tribute to the work of the two members of the Council who had passed away: Mr. E. J. Godfrey, in 1933, and M. René Nicolas, early in 1934.

A hearty vote of thanks to the Honorary Auditor, Mr. G. R. Brooks, was passed, and Mr. A. H. Hale was asked to join the small committee who were looking after the lay-out of the Society's compound.

#### THE COUNCIL

The Council has met regularly throughout the year under review, the number of meetings being ten and the average attendance nine.

The retirement of Mr. W. R. S. Ladell in March from the position of Hon. Librarian and Secretary of the Natural History Section and from the Council, occasioned very great regret, and at the June meeting of the Council it was decided to suggest to the next annual meeting the election of Mr. Ladell as a Corresponding member of the Society.

Mr. U. Guehler agreed to accept the position of Hon. Librarian.

In October, Dr. McCormick Smith, the leader of the Natural History Section and Editor of the Supplement, retired from these positions on leaving Siam. The Council on behalf of the Society entertained Dr. Smith to luncheon prior to his departure, and on this occasion tributes were paid to his work for and on behalf of the Society for a period of something like ten years.

During the absence of Mr. C. J. House, the Hon. Treasurer, on leave, Mr. C. W. Ward kindly acted for him. Mr. Ward prepared the Budget for the year 1935 and drew up the Balance Sheet for the year 1934 before handing over to Mr. House, and before his departure the Council found an opportunity to thank him for his services.

In the course of the year Professor George Coedès, a former President of the Society and now an Honorary Member, re-visited Bangkok. The Council had the pleasure of entertaining Professor Coedès, and on this occasion were also able to welcome another former active member and contributor to the Journal, also now an Honorary Member, in the person of Sir Josiah Crosby, the British Minister. It was the first occasion that either had seen the Society's home.



## MEMBERSHIP.

In the course of the year twelve ordinary members were elected as compared with sixteen in 1933, fifteen in 1932, fifteen in 1931, thirty-eight in 1930, and thirty-eight in 1929.

There were twenty resignations of ordinary members and two were removed for non-payment of subscription. On the 1st January 1935 the membership was as follows:—

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Free	Ordinary
20	11	3	4	151

making a total of 189 as compared with 207 in 1933, 200 in 1932, 218 in 1931, 244 in 1930 and 258 in 1929.

## EVOLUTION OF SIAMESE SCRIPT.

Definite advance is to be reported in connection with this work. Originally planned to be the Jubilee volume issued by the Society, the Council left the matter in abeyance, on the ground of cost and also because they believed there was a possibility of this particular study being included in a larger work to be produced in Europe. During 1934 the Council decided to abandon the idea of a Jubilee volume, and learning that the projected publication in Europe depended upon circumstances with which they could not be associated, they decided to have blocks made from the photos already prepared, before the negatives suffered further from the climate. The President, Prince Dhani and Mr. J. Burnay undertook to collaborate in writing a preface to the plates, the whole to be printed forthwith in the Journal. At the end of the year, the making of the clichés had been begun.

## SOCIETY'S COMPOUND.

During the year the improvement of the compound around the Society's home has been continued, earth provided and shrubs planted, and although it has not been found possible to give full effect to the plan of Dr. Morden Carthew, who designed an attractive layout, the Members of the Council, Prince Dhani and Phya Srishtikarn, who have been looking after this work have been able to effect a great improvement, and in the course of another twelve months the compound will appear even more attractive.

## FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The Finance Committee was reconstituted during the year as follows: Major Seidenfaden (Chairman), Prince Dhani, the Editor of the Journal, the Hon. Treasurer and the Hon. Secretary.

The Finance Committee reviewed at an early meeting the position of the Society's publications other than the Journal and the Natural History Supplement, i. e. Craib's *Flora*, *The Môn Dictionary* and *The Coinage of Siam*.

The sales position and commitments of the Society in regard to the *Flora* were examined and at the time of writing this report the Council were awaiting the result of suggestions put to Dr. Kerr in regard to the publication of future parts. In regard to the *Môn Dictionary* the possibility of finding a market in Burma for the remaining copies of the edition had been undertaken, and with a view to interesting numismatists in the *Coinage of Siam*, the leading Societies abroad have been approached.

## INDEX OF VOLUMES I TO XXV.

The index originally prepared for these volumes was found to be in a form unsuited to the requirements of the Society, and Mr. Lingat undertook to make suggestions. Acting on his recommendations Mme Schlepianoff agreed to draw up a new Index, and at the end of the year, the Index of the first twenty-five volumes had been approved by the Editor of the Journal, and was ready for delivery to the printers.

## TRIBAL DRESSES.

A proposal that the Council should make an attempt to preserve as far as possible by means of replicas, the dresses worn by the various peoples in Siam, having met with the sympathetic support of the Council, Prince Varnvaidyakara promised to see what could be accomplished by an appeal to the Ministry of Interior asking them to procure by the end of September, specimens of the types of tribal dresses from various districts.

So successful was this appeal that samples of these dresses were still being received from the remoter parts of the Kingdom in February, 1935.

## EXCHANGE COMMITTEE.

In September the desirability of again examining the Exchange Lists of the Society and Natural History Supplement became evident, and as a first step the Exchange Committee was re-formed with the Hon. Librarian as Chairman (*ex-officio*), the Leader of the Natural History Section, H. H. Prince Dhani, and the Editor of the Journal as members. This Committee made a first report in December.

## PARMENTIER CATALOGUE.

The translation from French to English of the Parmentier Catalogue of the objects contained in the Museums in Siam, progressed somewhat slowly during the year, and the Council agreed to the President taking such action as he considered appropriate with a view to accelerating the completion of this translation.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

During the year an informal committee composed of persons interested but not necessarily connected with the Siam Society, have considered the Memorandum prepared by the Committee appointed by the State Councillor for Public Instruction on the subject of a system for the transcription of Siamese into Roman characters, a copy of which was submitted to the Siam Society for their opinion and views. This informal Committee made proposals which were laid before the Council and the Council decided that the final form of the Council's reply be left to the President to formulate.

This reply was duly submitted to the Ministry of Public Instruction Committee, and later the assistance of the Council was sought in devising Siamese equivalents for scientific terms. On this subject too, the President had forwarded his views to the Chairman of the Science Section of the Royal Institute for consideration.

## NATURAL HISTORY SECTION.

In December, at a general meeting of members, Dr. A. G. Ellis was elected to the position of Leader of this important section. At the time of compiling this report the position of Honorary Secretary of this Section remains to be filled. Mr. U. Guehler, kindly consented to be Honorary Secretary temporarily, but only on the definite understanding that he was unable to undertake this post permanently.



## PRESERVATION OF WILD LIFE.

The Council learnt early in the year that the preservation of the wild life of the country was to be placed in the care of the Forest Department, and later the Council were favoured with a copy of the draft law on this subject. The President went through the list of birds and animals to be protected by the draft act, and his suggestions were conveyed to the Conservator of Forests. Since that time there has been nothing to record, and the proposed law has not yet been promulgated.

## ASTRONOMICAL SECTION.

Meetings of this section took place in the Society's compound on January 30th and July 26th to view partial eclipses of the moon and a number of members and their friends attended on both occasions to view the phenomena through the telescopes of the Leader of the Section (Mr. H. Brändli).

## REPRINTING.

The Council in continuation of its policy of maintaining complete sets of the Journal and the Supplement, resolved to reprint Vol. I, part 1, of the Natural History Journal. This was in hand at the end of the year.

## THE JOURNAL AND SUPPLEMENT.

Vol. XXVII, part 1, of the Journal, 133 pages, fully illustrated, was issued to members in 1934, and Part 2 was in the press at the end of the year.

Part 3 and the Index to Vol. IX of the Natural History Supplement were also published in this period.

Mr. J. Burnay continued as editor of the Journal throughout the year, and Dr. McCormick Smith saw the completion of Vol. IX before leaving the country.

## EXCURSIONS.

The Agricultural, Travel and Transport Section has found it impossible to arrange any excursions for the year under review. Phya Srishtikar Banchong and Luang Thavil have continued to be Leader and Honorary Secretary of this Section.

## MEETINGS.

The number of meetings during the year was fewer than in 1933.

In March Major Seidenfaden, at a general meeting of members gave an illustrated lecture on a visit to the Lawa country undertaken by himself and Mr. E. W. Hutchinson.

In September, Dr. McCormick Smith addressed the Natural History Section on *The World's Most Valuable Herd of Wild Animals*.

In December H. H. Prince Bidyalankarana lectured before a general meeting on *Buddha's Footprints*. Prior to the lecture the meeting authorised the President to send a letter of sympathy to Mrs. W. J. Archer, on the death of her husband, Mr. W. J. Archer, c. m. a., a former distinguished member of the Society. The members also associated themselves with a letter of regret at the unfortunate accident sustained by H. E. Bishop Perros, a few days prior to the meeting.

## Complete Accounts of the Building Construction Fund, 1928-1933.

Income.		Expenditure.	
	Yes.		Yes.
<i>Receipts of donations received:</i>		<i>Building construction:</i>	
His Majesty the King (Patron)	2,200.00	Cost of the building as contracted with Messrs. Li Ying Kun	34,000.00
Vice Patron and Honorary Officers	4,200.00	Cost of erecting several's quarters	750.00
Honorary and Corresponding members	1,933.37	Concrete supplied under contract	500.00
Ordinary members	10,007.04	Allowance to contractor for special roofing tile	290.00
Business firms	3,300.00		25,500.00
Other non-members	1,823.03		
Total donations received	34,033.44	<i>Electric installation:</i>	
Interest received on deposits	—	Underground cable and gas lights	75.22
Profit of hired film, March 1931	—	Wiring, lamps and fittings	601.08
Contribution from the Society's Executive Fund	—	Four ceiling fans	100.00
	—	Two marble inscribed tablets	—
Total Income of the fund	34,033.44	<i>Fencing and entrance gates:</i>	
		Young concrete posts and wire	250.00
		Two entrance gates	254.00
			444.80
		<i>Bottom of level compound and road</i>	677.01
		Construction of new road	—
		Tough surfacing	1,355.80
		Final surfacing and rolling	800.00
			2,435.80
		<i>Repairs of south road:</i>	
		Cost of repairs	552.00
		Less contribution by owner	270.00
			302.00
		<i>Drains, paths and curbstones:</i>	
		Interest on loans from bank	100.80
			111.07
		Total expenditure	30,007.31
Profit, less by transfer from Society's General A/c	169.83		
	30,667.28		

G. H. BROOKS,  
Hon. Auditor.

C. J. HOUSE,  
Hon. Treasurer.



## Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1933.

Receipts.		Ten. 1933.	Expenditure.		Ten. 1933.
To balance brought forward from 1932		417.05	By Clark's wages		300.00
.. Subscriptions	1932	175	.. Travelling allowance	..	30.00
.. do	1933	2,700	.. Credit's wages	..	345.00
.. do	1934	125	.. Postages - Hon. Secretary	..	462.75
			.. Postages and Revenue stamps - Hon. Treasurer	..	61.26
			.. Books bound for library	..	32.50
			.. Printing Journal	..	105.00
			.. Printing National History Supplementary	..	1,405.50
			.. Preparing and printing index to National History	..	1,285.50
			.. Printing authors' association	..	135.50
.. Sale of Journals		311.26	.. Books for Journal	..	41.50
.. Sale of National History Journals		330.26	.. Books for National History Supplement	..	502.00
.. Sale of Credit's share		367.56	.. Stationery	..	135.50
.. Sale of "Colours of Shan"		210.26	.. Printing and distilling chemicals	..	45.00
.. Sale of Mon Dictionary		51.00	.. Postages on forwarding Journals	..	142.50
.. Harrison's and Rutherford's, second sale		100.48	.. Case of pigeon-hole for library	..	115.52
.. Refund of Insurance premium		9.22	.. Addressing and wrapping Journals	..	50.37
.. Interest on current account		5.80	.. Electric light and fans	..	132.05
			.. Electric printer and new lamp for lantern	..	60.50
			.. Cost of removal to new building	..	30.00
			.. Registration fees	..	11.50
			.. Penials, implements and housing materials	..	95.84
			.. Hire of P. O. box	..	30.00
			.. Preliminary expenses, Credit's share	..	30.74
			.. Lantern slides for H. H. Prince of Wales lecture	..	54.00
			.. Preparations for opening ceremony	..	96.50
			.. Materials for special transcription chemicals	..	11.60
			.. Fire insurance - Building	..	146.00
			.. Loss on exchange	..	7.88
			.. Purchase of chairs for library	..	104.00
			.. Purchase of books for library	..	64.00
			.. Re-printing Journal Vol. XXII, part II.	..	240.50
			.. Subscription to fund to erect a statue of	..	100.00
			.. H. M. King Vajiravudh	..	100.00
			.. Preparation of general index, Journal Vols. XXV.	..	100.83
			.. Transfer to Building Fund to meet deficit	..	7,495.06
			Total expenditure	Ten.	7,495.06

## Subscriptions outstanding.

1932	Ten. 1933
1032	350
1033	350

## Number of Members as at 31st December 1933.

1932	Ten. 1933
1032	350
1033	350

O. J. HOUSE,  
Hon. Treasurer.

## Reserve Fund Account.

To balance brought forward from 1932	4,560.00
.. Interest received	300.00
Total on hand deposit	4,700.00

Examined and found to agree with the books and vouchers.

O. H. BHOONKE,  
Hon. Auditor.

N.B.—The above sales include Messrs. Lunar's account.

To deficit (not by overdraft from Hongkong Bank)

## SIAM SOCIETY BUILDING FUND.

## COMPLETE LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

			Tes.
His Majesty the King (Patron)	...	...	2,500
H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (Vice-Patron)			1,500
H. R. H. Prince Nagai Svarga	...	...	2,000
H. R. H. Prince Kambheng Bejra	...	...	1,000
	Total		<u>7,000</u>

## HONORARY &amp; CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

H. E. Bishop Perros	Tes.	250	W. A. Graham	62.11
H. R. H. Prince of Jaiwad		200	R. W. Giblin	54.08
H. H. Prince Balya		200	H. Campbell Highet	50
Miss E. S. Cole		165.44	Sir Walter Williamson	25
Sir Josiah Crosby		82.64	Dr. Paul Tuxen	25
C. Boden Kloss		64.10	Dr. Malcolm Smith	25
			Total	Tes. <u>1,203.37</u>

## ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Dr. A. F. G. Kerr	Tes.	785	Brought forward	Tes.	5,945
R. S. le May		600	A. Mareau		200
Phya Indra Montri		525	A. V. Rooth		200
Prof. G. Cœdès		525	E. Wyon Smith		175
Phya Bhakdi Nornseesth		500	Phya Srishtikar		
E. Seidenfaden		425	Banchong		125
H. H. Prince Dhani		350	C. L'Evesque		125
Dr. H. M. Smith		325	W. R. S. Ladell		110
W. H. Mundie		275	H. S. O'Neill		100
J. Burnay		275	E. D. Atkins		100
C. D. Gee		260	M. Bréal		100
A. R. Malcolm		250	W. Haines		100
Commandr. W. L. Grut		250	Mrs. E. Collins		100
Rev. L. A. Chorin		200	Prof. A. G. Ellis		100
C. J. House		200	Prof. R. Nicolas		100
J. Knudtson		200	H. Tyrer		100
Carried forward		5,945	Carried forward		7,680

## ORDINARY MEMBERS (cont'd.)

Brought forward	Tes. 7,880	Brought forward	Tes. 9,435
R. Adey Moore	100	L. A. Thorne	30
Dr. G. B. McFarland	100	C. J. Anguard	25
A. Wishart	100	J. Cairncross	25
Y. Yatabe	100	A. H. Hale	25
Phya Burus Ratana	100	Nai Kim Pong	
Phya Prabha Karawongs	100	Thong Thach	25
Phya Sarasastra	100	E. L. Hall-Patch	25
Phra Siddhi Byakarana	100	J. F. Johns	25
H. S. H. Prince		H. E. M. Martin	25
Varnavadyakara	75	Rev. Robert Irwin	25
Phya Prasada	75	H. H. Prince Prisdang	25
V. H. Jaques	75	Phya Daruphan Pitaks	25
H. O. Mackenzie	75	Phya Prida Narubesi	25
E. Reuterberg	75	Phra Aran Raksa	25
W. W. Coultas	70	A. L. Queripel	25
N. Eskelund	50	J. L. Rongui	25
E. J. Godfrey	50	Luang Thavil	25
Dr. P. Hermet	50	H. G. Q. Wales	25
F. G. de Jesus	50	P. L. E. Warming	25
R. Lingat	50	H. B. Garrett	25
P. A. MacDougall	50	Curtis C. Williams	22.04
German Club	50	Luang Choola	20
Japanese Legation	50	French Legation	20
Phya Prijanusasana	40	Ch. Béguelin	20
Phya Boran	40	Mrs. Watson	10
Phra Pramonda Panna	30		
Carried forward	9,435	Total (Ordinary member)	10,007.04

## NON-MEMBERS.

A. E. Nana	Tes. 300	Mom Chao Prasobri	50
H. R. H. Prince		Chao Phya Mahidhara	50
Mahidol	200	A. Ruyters	50
Phya Bhirom Bhakdi	200	Assumption College	50
H. H. Prince		N. L. Selley	12
Devawongse	100	Chao Phya Bijayendr	10
E. Lely	100	Anonymous donations	150
Phya Suriwongse	50		
		Total	Tes. 1,322



## COMMERCIAL &amp; BUSINESS HOUSES.

Khun Sreshtibhakdi	Tes. 1,200	Siam Cement Co., Ltd.	500
Lim Jim Koh	1,000	Mercantile Bank	
Siam Electric Corporation, Ltd.	1,000	of India, Ltd.	250
Siam Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.	500	B. Grimm & Co.	200
Long Choo Bak	500	Est Asiatique Française	100
		Société Anonyme Belge	50

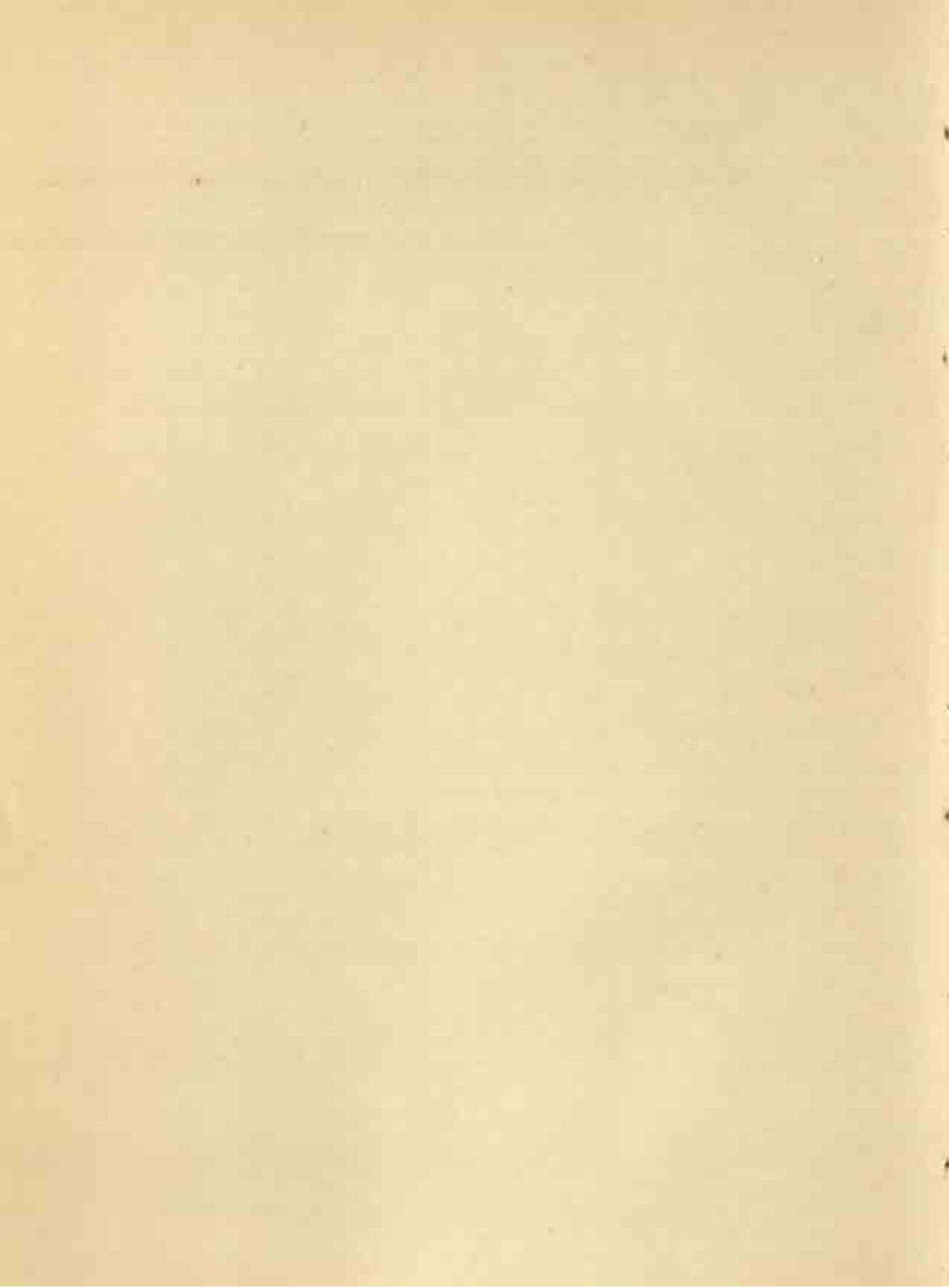
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 Total 5,300
 

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## SUMMARY OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

His Majesty the King	...	...	Tes. 2,500
H. R. H. Prince Damrong	...	...	1,500
Honorary Officers	...	...	3,000
Honorary & Corresponding members	...	...	1,203.37
Ordinary members	...	...	10,007.04
Non-members	...	...	1,322
Commercial & business houses	...	...	5,300
Total			Tes. 24,832.41



FULL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SIAM SOCIETY  
ON MARCH 1ST 1935.

Patron	...	...	His Majesty the King
Vice-Patron	...	...	H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajamubhab.
Honorary President	...	...	H. R. H. Prince of Nagara Svarga.
Honorary Vice-President	...	...	H. R. H. Prince of Kambuang Bejra.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

H. R. H. the Prince of Jainad.		
H. H. Prince Bidyalankarana.		
E. C. Stuart Baker	...	6 Harold Road, Norwood, London.
Dr. C. B. Bradley	...	Berkeley, California, U. S. A.
Professor G. Coedès	...	Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi.
Miss E. S. Cole	...	2217 Jule Street, St. Joseph, Mo., U. S. A.
Sir J. Crosby,		
K. R. E., C. L. E.,	...	H. B. M. Minister, Bangkok.
Professor L. Finot	...	Folco Mollat 33, Ste. Catherine, Toulon, France.
Ronald W. Giblin	...	c/o Guthrie & Co., Ltd., Whittington Av., London, E.C.
W. A. Graham	...	Plush Manor, Piddletrenthide, near Dorchester.
Count Gyldenstolpe	...	Royal Natural History Museum, Stockholm, Sweden.
J. Homan van der Heide	...	Bemmel, Holland.
C. Boden Kloss	...	2 Holbein House, Sloane Square, London, S. W.
Professor K. Kuroita	...	The Oriental Library, Tokyo.
H. Parmentier	...	Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi.
H. E. Bishop R. M. J.		
Perros	...	Assumption Cathedral, Bangkok.
Sir J. George Scott	...	Thereaway, Graffham, Petworth, Sussex.
Dr. Malcolm Smith	...	Lane End, Putney, London.
Dr. Paul Tuxen	...	The University, Copenhagen.



Sir Walter Williamson,

C. M. G. ... e/o Lloyd's Bank, 6 Pall Mall,

London, S. W. 1.

#### CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

C. J. Aagaard ... "Frederikshøj", Hadsund, Jutland,  
Denmark.

Professor A. Cabaton ... e/o Ecole Nationale des Langues  
Orientales, Paris.

J. A. Cable ... Golfers' Club, Whitehall Court,  
London, S. W. 1.

W. R. S. Ladell ... "Cedara", Lower Luton Road,  
Wheathampstead, Herts.

R. S. le May ... 6 Somerset Avenue, Raynes Park,  
London, S. W. 20.

J. Michell ... 2 Oakhill Road, Beckenham, Kent.

W. Nunn ... 5 Dover Street, London, W. 1.

P. Petithuguenin ... 74 Rue St. Lazare, Paris.

Professor Conte F. L. Pulle ... R. Università, Bologna, Italy.

C. A. S. Sewell ... Birchington, Kent.

Dr. H. M. Smith ... 1209 M. St. N. W., Washington,  
D. C., U. S. A.

H. Warrington Smyth,

C. M. G. ... Calamansac, Falmouth, England.

Taw Sein Ko ... e/o Archeological Department,  
Mandalay, Burma.

#### LIFE MEMBERS.

E. W. Hutchinson ... Chiangmai.

Dr. E. R. James ... Harvard University, Cambridge,  
Mass., U. S. A.

Dr. A. F. G. Kerr ... Street House, Hayes, Kent, England.

#### ORDINARY MEMBERS.<sup>(1)</sup>

Anusasma, Phya ... Petchaboon Palace.

Annvad Baksa, Phya ... Timber Revenue Station, Paknampoh.

Arau Baksa, Phya ... 700 Pebin Road, Sulegon Qr., Monywa,  
Lr/Chindwin District, Burma.

(1) All addresses are in Bangkok unless otherwise stated.

Ariant Manjikun, Nai	...	Bureau of Entomology, Rama VI Road.
Banque de l'Indochine	...	Oriental Avenue.
Bailey, J.	...	British Consul-General.
Bain, W.	...	Borneo Co., Ltd., Chiangmai.
Bangkok Christian College		Pramuan Road.
Baxter, J.	...	Ministry of Finance.
Bhakdi Noraset, Phya	...	Nai Lert's Store.
Bibliothèque Royale du Cambodge	...	Pnompenh.
Bily, Ch.	...	Ministry of Justice.
Björling, O.	...	Maglemosevej 37, Charlottenlund, Denmark.
Boribal Buribhand, Luang		Royal Institute.
Brändli, H.	...	Royal Irrigation Department.
Bréal, M.	...	Est Asiatique Français, Chiangrai.
Brooks, G. R.	...	Meklong Railway Co., Ltd.
Bruun, J.	...	Menam Motor Boat Co., Ltd.
Burnay, J. (Hon. Editor)		Ministry of Justice.
Cambiaso, S.	...	Department of Ways.
Cambridge University Library	...	Cambridge, England.
Causey, Dr. O. R.	...	Chulalongkorn University.
Chakrapani, Luang	...	853 Pramuan Road.
Chalart Lobloesan, H. S. H. Prince	...	Bamrung Muang Road.
Charoen Chai, H. S. H. Prince	...	Royal State Railways.
Chorin, (Rév. Père) L. A.		Assumption College.
Christiansen, H.	...	Danish Consul-General.
Collins, Mrs. E.	...	Sathorn Road.
Conseil de Recherches Scien- tifiques de l'Indochine		Hanoi.
Coultas, W. W.	...	British Consul, Chiangmai.
Dangel, Richard	...	Pressgasse 17/24, Vienna IV.
Daruphan Pitak, Phya	...	Forest Department.
Davidson, C. M. N.	...	Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, Ltd., Lampang.
Davies, J. E.	...	Chulalongkorn University.
Dhani Nivat, H. H. Prince (Vice-President)	...	Bejraburi Road.

Duplatre, L. ...	...	Law School.
Eisenhofer, E. ...	...	Sriracha.
Ellis, Dr. A. G. ...	...	Chulalongkorn University.
Encyclopedia Bureau.		
Govt.-Gen. of Formosa		Taipei, Formosa, Japan.
Eygout, Prof. H. ...	...	Law School.
Faculty of Arts & Sciences		Chulalongkorn University.
F. M. S. Museums ...	...	Kuala Lumpur.
Feltus, Rev. G. H. ...	...	36 Belle Avenue, Troy, New York.
Folliet, R. ...	...	Borispah Court.
Forno, E. ...	...	Fine Arts Section, Royal Institute.
Fraser, Lt. Col. F. C. ...	...	c/o Messrs. Grindley & Co., Parliament St., Westminster, I.
French Legation ...	...	Bangkok.
Fuhrhop, W. ...	...	Windsor & Co.
Fuchs, P. ...	...	French " ...
Gairdner, K. G. ...	...	Wat Pratut, near Kambaeng Bejra.
Garratt, H. B. ...	...	Chiengmai.
Gee, C. D. ...	...	Royal Irrigation Department.
German Club, The ...	...	Sathorn Road.
Gould, A. N. ...	...	Borneo Co., Ltd., Lampang.
Grut, Commandr. W. L. ...	...	Siam Electric Corporation, Ltd.
Grut, Edmond ...	...	Siam Electric Corporation, Ltd.
Guehler, U. ...	...	B. Grimm & Co.
Haines, W. ...	...	Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation.
Hale, A. H. ...	...	476 Rama I Road.
Hammond, A. R. ...	...	McFarland Typewriter Co., Ltd.
Hanhart, J. K. ...	...	B. Grimm & Co.
Healey, E. ...	...	Siam Architects, Rajadamri Road.
Hermanns, R. H. ...	...	Windsor & Co.
Hicks, J. ...	...	Hicks Lane.
Holland, Sir Robert, K. C. I. E. ...	...	Ministry of Justice.
House, C. J. (Hon. Treasurer) ...	...	Government Laboratory.
Indra Mantri, Phya (President) ...	...	Rajaprarob Road.
Jacobi, H. M. S. ...	...	113 New Road.
Japanese Legation ...	...	Rajaprarob Road.
Jolamark, Phya ...	...	Royal Irrigation Department.



Jones, R. P.	...	...	Department of Agriculture.
Karpelès, Mlle S.	...	...	Bibliothèque Royale du Cambodge, Pnompenh.
Kavila, Chao	...	...	c/o Ministry of Royal Household.
Kim Pong Thong Thach	...	...	Jawarad Co., Ltd.
Kindness, J.	...	...	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank.
Laer, K. V.	...	...	G. Levy & Co., Anuwongse Road.
Landon, Rev. K. P.	...	...	Trang.
L'Evesque, C.	...	...	Legislative Council.
Leipzig University Library			Beethovenstrasse 6, Leipzig, Germany.
Levy, G.	...	...	G. Levy & Co., Anuwongse Road.
Lingat, R.	...	...	Appeal Court.
Mace, D. F.	...	...	The Keep, Castle Lane, Bournemouth, England.
Manfredi, E.	...	...	Cole Avenue, Bang Kapi.
Manopakorn, Phya	...	...	c/o Siamese Consulate, Penang.
Martin, H. E. M.	...	...	Anglo-Siam Corporation, Ltd.
May, Dr. J. M.	...	...	Trocadero Hotel.
May, P. W.	...	...	129 Westbourne Terrace, London, W. 2.
McFarland, Dr. G. B.	...	...	Holyrood, Sathorn Road.
Moore, R. Adey (Hon. Secretary)	...	...	Bangkok Times Press, Ltd.
Mundie, W. H. (Vice-President)	...	...	Bangkok Times Press, Ltd.
Neilson Hays Library.	...	...	Suriyavongs Road.
Nord, H. E. Prof. Dr. E.	...	...	German Minister.
Notton, C.	...	...	French Consulate, Chiengmai.
Novion, H. E.	...	...	City Engineer's Office.
Oakley, Dr. T. C.	...	...	Windmill Road.
Paschkewitz, H.	...	...	Windsor & Co.
Pot, W. G.	...	...	French Legation.
Pistono, F.	...	...	City Engineer's Office.
Rerosse, Remy de	...	...	Legislative Council.
Porter, Miss M.	...	...	Siriraj Hospital.
Prabha Karawongs, Phya			Soi Sap Lane.
Prachuab Bunnag, Nai	...	...	Ministry of Defence.
Pradère-Niquet, R.	...	...	Ministry of Justice.
Pradibaddha Ehubal, Phya			Klong Toi.

Queripel, A. L. ...	...	" Lingha ", Chiangmai.
Rajada Bises, H.S.H. Prince		Chulalongkorn University.
Rajawangsan, Phya ...	...	Siamese Legation, Paris.
Rangoon University Library		Rangoon.
Reuterberg, E. ...	...	Siam Electric Corporation, Ltd.
Rodatz, H. E. ...	...	B. Grimm & Co.
Ronlez, E. ...	...	Siam Electric Corporation, Ltd.
Roux, Col. ...	...	French Military Attaché.
Sakol, H. S. H. Prince ...	...	Ministry of Interior.
Salyavedya, Col. Phra ...	...	Ministry of Defence.
Sanya Dharmasakti, Nai		Ministry of Justice.
Sarasastra, Phya ...	...	off Rama IV Road.
Sarit, Mom Luang ...	...	Suan Kularb College.
Schweigsuth, P. ...	...	Crédit Foncier de l'Indochine
Schwend, Dr. O. ...	...	Bangkok Dispensary.
Sehested, Steen ...	...	Kuala Lumpur.
Seidenfaden, Major E. (Vice-President) ...	...	148 Phya Thai Road.
Shelley, J. G. ...	...	Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation.
Srishtikarn Ranchong, Phya		Government Power Station.
Swanson, James ...	...	Bangkok Dock Co., Ltd.
Thavenot, A. F. N. ...	...	Appeal Court.
Thavil, Luang ...	...	Royal State Railways.
Varn Vaidya. H. S. H. Prince ...	...	Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Vernay, A. S. ...	...	51 Berkeley Square, London, W. 1.
Vivat, H. S. H. Prince ...	...	Revenue Dept.
Wales, Dr. H. G. Q. ...	...	Royal Societies Club, St. James' St., London, S. W. 1.
Wattana Wittaya Academy		Bang Kapi.
Wergeni, T. ...	...	East Asiatic Co., Ltd., Bandon.
Wester Junr., J. D. ...	...	International Engineering Co., Inc.
Winit Wanadorn, Phya ...	...	Forest Department.
Yong Hoontrakul, Nai ...	...	Bangkok Manufacturing Co., Ltd.
Ziegler, Th. ...	...	Windsor & Co.
Zieler, Idor ...	...	East Asiatic Co., Ltd., Taknapa.
Zimmerman, W. ...	...	Y. M. C. A., Vorachakr Road.

## FREE MEMBERS.

Boher, (Rév Père) E. ....	Petit Séminaire Théophile Venard, Beaupréau (M. & L.).
Hilaire, (Rév. Brother) ...	Assumption College.
Irwin, (Rev.) R. ... ..	454 W. Seventh Street, Claremont, Cal., U. S. A.

## MEMBERSHIP.

The following changes have been recorded since September, 1933, when the last list was published. (Vol. XXVI, p. 246).

## ELECTIONS.

1933.

October 11th.—Sir Robert Holland, Nai Sanya Dharmanasakti, Messrs.  
H. R. Hermanns, J. K. Hanhart, K. V. Laer, G. Levy,  
R. Schaller, Th. Ziegler.

1934.

January 17th.—Rev. Graham Fuller, Mr. H. M. S. Jacobi.  
February 14th.—Messrs. Ch. Bily, P. Fuchs, C. D. Gee (re-elected),  
and Dr. J. M. May.  
March 14th.—H. S. H. Prince Viwat.  
August 15th.—Mr. W. W. Coultas (re-elected).  
October 17th.—Mr. G. Picot.  
December 19th.—Prof. J. E. Davies, Mom Luang Seri, Dr. W. H.  
Feltus.

## DIED.

The death of the following members is recorded with regret:—Mr.  
W. J. Archer (Hon. member), Mr. F. G. de Jesus, Mr. R. Nicolas.

## RESIGNATIONS.

1933.

Phya Boran,	Dr. Hermet,	Mr. H. S. O'Neill,
Luang Choola,	Rev. W. Harris,	Phya Prijanusana,
Mr. O. E. B. Crowe,	Mr. J. V. Mathews,	Mr. A. V. Rooth,
Dr. Credner,	Mr. V. Jaques,	Mr. J. L. Rongui,
Phya Burus,	Dr. Joseph,	H. S. H. Prince
Mr. E. Groote,	Mr. C. Moninot,	Sithiporn,
Mr. R. Havmoller,	Dr. Nedergaard,	Mr. E. Thune.



## 1934.

Phya Prasada,	Mr. H. S. Kennedy,	Phya Sombati Borihar,
Mr. Ch. Béguelin,	Mr. A. Rochat,	Mr. R. B. Stevens,
Nai Boon Chuay,	Mr. K. F. Potter,	Dr. H. W. Toms,
Rev. Graham Fuller,	Mr. R. Schaller,	Luang Viehien,
Mr. C. F. Dormer,	Mr. T. A. Slack,	Mr. C. W. Ward,
Mr. W. R. S. Ladell,	Mr. E. Wyon Smith,	Mr. C. C. Williams, Jr.
Mr. A. Lynch,		

## REMOVALS.—(under rule 8).

Mr. J. G. Baggi,	Phya Gadadharabodi, Nai Louis Girivat.
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(507) 620

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